ITALY AND HER INVADERS

HODGKIN



VOL. III.

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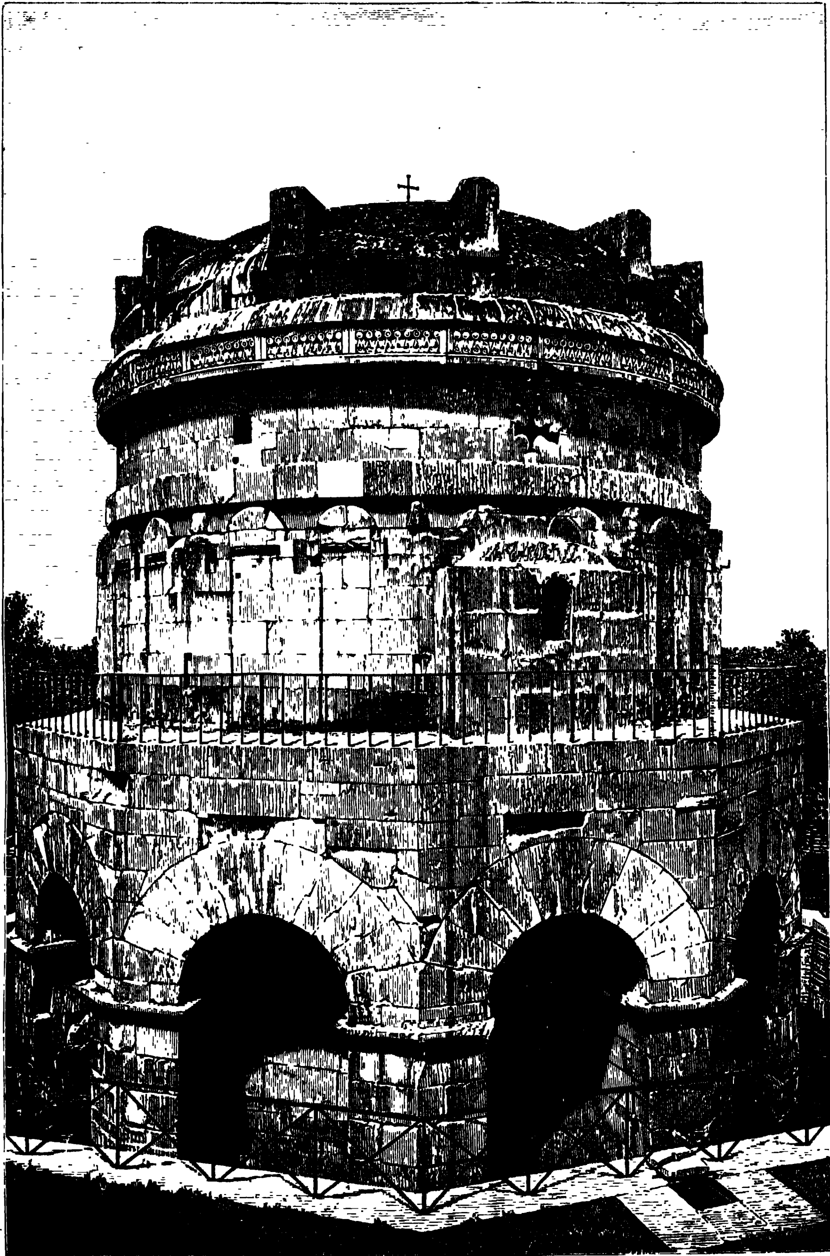
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MAUSOLEUM OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA

Frontispiece to Vol. III.

ITALY

AND

HER INVADERS

476—535

BY

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VOLUME III

BOOK IV. THE OSTROGOTHIC INVASION

SECOND EDITION

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF VOLUMES III AND IV.

AFTER an interval of five years I offer to the public two more volumes of my history of Italy and her Invaders. I still propose to myself in the main the same objects which were described in the Preface to the previous volumes. Only, in deference to the opinion of some of my most esteemed reviewers, I have devoted considerably more attention to the affairs of the Church and the Eastern Empire than I ventured to do in the former portion of my work. Artistically the book probably suffers by the breaks thus caused in the main course of the narrative; but I hope that its scientific value may be increased by this attempt to deal with two factors so important in their influence on the age as the Pope of Rome and the Caesar of Byzantium.

It will perhaps alarm my readers to find that in two bulky volumes I only traverse a period of seventy-six years, and especially that in the second of these an interval of only eighteen years is accounted for. But when it is remembered that in this volume I have to describe a contest not much shorter or less important than the Peloponnesian or the Second Punic War, and

that this contest is described for us by an eye-witness, not altogether unworthy to be called by the same name of historian which we accord to Thucydides and Polybius, I trust I may be acquitted of the charge of unnecessary diffuseness. At any rate, from the scanty supply of historical material, I may safely promise my readers and myself a much more rapid progress through the two centuries that lie next before me.

The same fact must also be my apology for the extremely warlike character of my fourth volume. Few persons could be less fitted than I by inclination or previous training to write a military history: and I heartily accept the condemnation passed on 'drum and trumpet histories' by some of our later critics. But after all I am obliged to tell the tale as it is told to me. The compiling historian sits in the last and lowest room of the workshop of Time, weaving his web of such materials as are furnished him by others: and if the thread reaches his hands all crimson with the stain of war, the fabric which leaves his loom must be dyed with the same terrible colour.

There are two names to which I feel bound to express an obligation which is more than can be discharged by the few slight notices at the head of my chapters. Professor Felix Dahn of Königsberg, by his admirable book on 'The Kings of the Germans,' has earned a great debt of gratitude from all students of the history of the migration of the Barbarian Peoples. His careful analysis of every passage bearing on his great subject saves us who come after him an infinity of labour; and the essentially juristic character of his training and his pursuits entitles him to speak with authority on all questions of law and government.

Occasionally the reader will discover in a foot-note a hinted doubt as to the correctness of some small point on which Dahn has expressed an opinion. Wherever this occurs, he may safely conjecture that the main propositions in the text come from Dahn's work, and are affirmed with confidence on his authority.

My other obligation is of a more personal kind. My friend and valued counsellor Mr. Bryce has been for some time preparing to write the history of Justinian, and in this preparation has of course traversed much of the same ground which I survey in these volumes. Especially the wonderful defence of Rome by Belisarius and the site of the battle between Narses and Totila have been with him favourite subjects for investigation; and he has in the most generous way shared with me the results of his labours. I regret that he has not yet published any memoir on either of these subjects to which I can refer; but this general expression of my obligation will, I trust, be sufficient to show the true relation between his book and mine, whensoever his Parliamentary labours shall allow him to pluck the fruit which has long been ripening. It is probable that when that time comes it will be seen that Mr. Bryce takes a more favourable view of the characters both of Justinian and Theodora than I have done. I have not wished to assume the attitude of an advocate, but it is possible that I may unintentionally have done something less than justice to Justinian the persistent enemy of the Ostrogothic people, and to Theodora the oppressor of Belisarius. If this be so, I hope the balance will be redressed by the judicial impartiality of Justinian's biographer.

Many other friends have helped me in various ways, whose names, though not mentioned here, are gratefully remembered by me. I am bound, however, to express my obligation to Mr. C. F. Keary of the British Museum for his assistance in preparing the plate of Ostrogothic coins; to the executors of the late Mr. J. H. Parker for allowing me to copy some of his very valuable Roman photographs; and to Professor Beloch and his publishers for permission to use the beautiful map of Neapolis which accompanies his monograph on Campania.

Traversing so wide a field and with far less help from Dictionaries and Commentaries than is afforded to the student of the better known portions of Ancient History, I cannot expect to have avoided many errors. I heartily thank beforehand, and recognise as my best friends, those reviewers who shall out of the fulness of their own knowledge correct the mistakes into which I have fallen, and enable me in future volumes or a future edition to attain more nearly to my own ideal of historical accuracy.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

BENWELLDENE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE:
March 11, 1885.

(A few verbal errors only are corrected in the new edition.)

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BOOK IV.

THE OSTROGOTHIC INVASION.



CHAPTER I.

A CENTURY OF OSTROGOTHIC HISTORY.

Authorities.

Sources:—

Our sole source of information for this period is JORDANES, as I now propose to call the Gothic historian whom in the previous volumes I called, though under protest, JORNANDES. The appearance (in 1882) of that which will be henceforward the standard edition of the two treatises of this indispensable but irritating writer, revised as the text has been with the most elaborate care by Professor Mommsen, disposes of the Jornandes form of the name as well as of many other points previously in dispute. While reminding the reader of the account of Jordanes given in the early part of this history (vol. i. pp. 23–29), I may also refer to a fuller notice contributed by me to the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Guides:—

Köpke, Die Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen (Berlin 1859): a very carefully written monograph, the foundation of some of the best work of later enquirers. Dahn, Die Könige der Germanen, Abtheilungen 1–5 (Munich 1861, and Würzburg 1866–1870). See remarks in Preface.

I have now to record the establishment of a Teutonic kingdom in Italy, which, more than any other of the new states arising on the ruins of the Roman Empire, promised to promote the happiness of the human race, which seemed likely to draw forth all that was noblest in the manhood of the barbarian, all that was most refined in the culture of the Italian, and to weld them both into one harmonious whole; a kingdom the Arian ruler of which so wisely deferred to the feelings of his Catholic subjects, and held with so even a hand the balance between contending creeds, that he all but solved the difficult problem how to construct 'a free Church in a free State;' a kingdom the preservation of which would (as I have already hinted[1]) have helped forward the civilisation of Europe by five centuries, and would perhaps have contributed something towards the softening and ennobling of human life even at the present day. I have then to describe through what faults and flaws in its own structure, by what craft of foreign foes, by what treachery of ungrateful subjects, by what marvels of strategic skill this fair kingdom was shattered and brought to nought. Two names, which will ever defy oblivion, connect themselves with the two acts of this mighty drama: Theodoric with the establishment of the Ostrogothic monarchy, Justinian with its fall. But while Theodoric is all ours, no part of his career being outside the limits of our subject, there are vast spaces in the life and acts of the Byzantine Emperor which are foreign to our

[1] Vol. ii. p. 537.

present purpose, and upon which we must not allow ourselves to enter. BOOK IV. CH. 1.

I proceed to sketch in brief outline the history of the Ostrogothic people until the story of the nation begins to narrow into the biography of a man, their young king Theodoric.

Position of the Ostrogoths in the Third Century.

The Ostrogoths were that member of the great East-German family of nations which first attained to widely extended dominion. Through the greater part of the third century after Christ theirs was the chief controlling influence in the vast plains between the Baltic and the Euxine which form the Lithuania and Southern Russia of modern history. Like the other German nations at that time, they were probably passing or had recently passed from the nomadic to the settled form of society, from dependence on flocks and herds to dependence on the tillage of the ground as their chief means of support. The head of this powerful but loosely compacted state was Hermanric[1] the Amal, sprung from the seed of gods, still true to the martial religion of Odin and Thor; a Goth of Goths, and a Teuton of Teutons. Under his orders moved to battle the hosts of the Visigoths who dwelt between him and the Danube, of the Gepidae who perhaps occupied the plains of Central Russia in his rear. The forecast of European history which then seemed probable would have been that a great Teutonic Empire stretching from the Danube to the Don would take the place which the colossal Slav Empire now holds in the map of Europe, and would be ready,

Hermanric: about 335 375.

[1] Or Hermanaric. See vol. i. p. 77.

BOOK IV. CH. 1.

as a civilised and Christianised power, to step into the place of Eastern Rome when in the fulness of centuries the sceptre should drop from the nerveless hands of the Caesars of Byzantium.

Hunnish onset.

All these possible speculations as to the future were upset and the whole course of human history to the latest generations was modified by the rush of the swarthy dwarfish Huns over the shallows of the Sea of Azof and the impetuous charge of their light cavalry upon the unwieldy masses of the army of Hermanric. The defeat of the Ostrogothic army is acknowledged by the national historian. The death of the Ostrogothic king, who was in very advanced age, is not quite so honestly related. It is attributed to a wound received from rebellious subjects, but seems to have been in truth the death of a suicide, in despair at the sudden overthrow of his power.

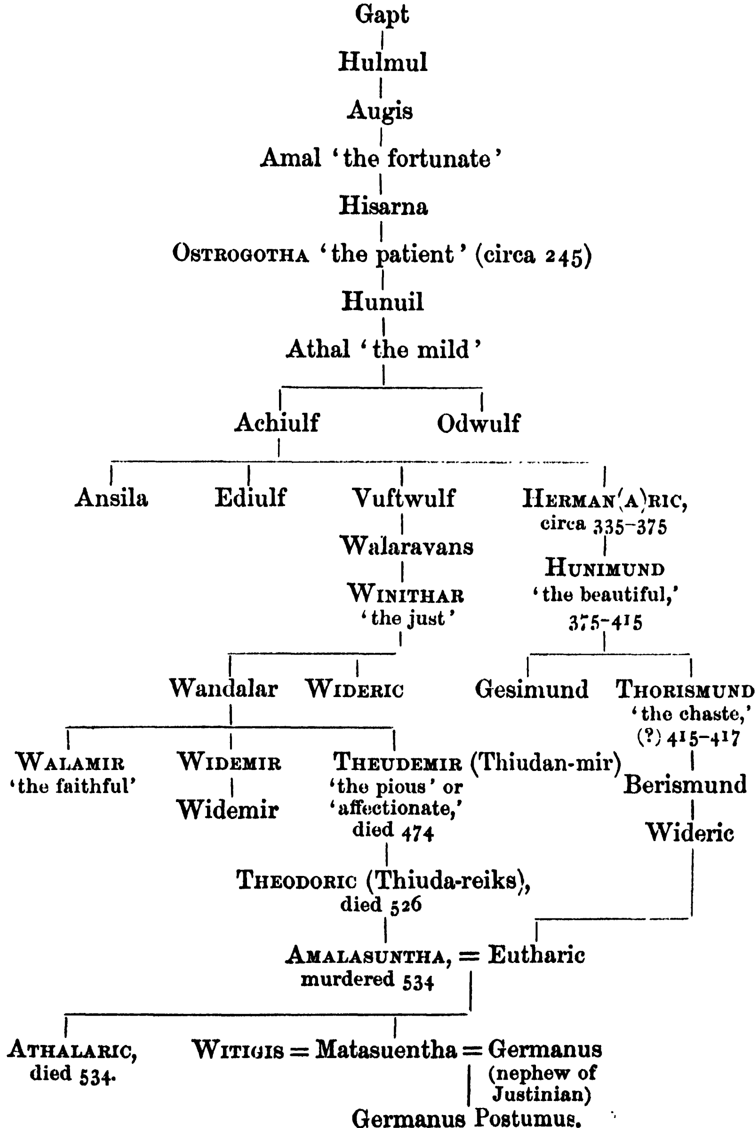
Subordination to the Huns.

The collapse of the power of Hermanric did not bring with it so disastrous ruin to his people as would have been the case with a more highly organized state. The Hunnish monarch needed soldiers, and the Ostrogoths could supply them. He cared little about law and government, and therefore the Ostrogoths might keep such political institutions as they had. They were pushed somewhat westward, probably over the Carpathian mountains, and they no longer possessed the suzerainty over the vast and loose confederacy of nations who roamed over the plains of Sarmatia. Otherwise there was little change, only their king escorted the chariot of the conqueror instead of filling it. There are even indications that the Hun, regarded at first by his

PEDIGREE OF THE AMALS.

(*From* JORDANES *and* CASSIODORUS.)

(Names of Kings and Queens in capital letters; the epithets from CASSIODORUS.)



BOOK IV. CH 1.

Gothic antagonist with blended feelings of fear and disgust, became somewhat less hateful as he was better known. Balamber, the monarch of the Huns at the time of their great migration, married Vadamerca, an Ostrogothic princess [1]; and the bold attempt of Winithar, and, after his death, of the guardians of his infant son Wideric, to shake off the Hunnish yoke [2], seems to have met with but a faint and partial response among their countrymen. Hunimund the son of Hermanric, who, as vassal of the conquerors, ruled over the great mass of the Ostrogothic people, is described as an active warrior, conspicuous for his manly beauty, and as having fought successfully against the Suevic nation, probably situated on his northern or north-western border [3].

Hunimund, 375-415(?).

The reign of Hunimund, which seems to have been a time of comparative prosperity for the Ostrogothic people, probably occupied the years between 375 and 415 [4]. Important events were then going forward in the West of Europe, events in which their Visigothic kinsmen and their old Vandal neighbours

[1] Who, however, can hardly have been, as stated by Jordanes, granddaughter of Winithar. Winithar is already two generations below Hermanric, and his grandson Theudemir died in 474, nearly a century after the Hunnish irruption. (See pedigree on p. 5.) We may lessen but hardly remove the difficulty by translating *neptem* niece.

[2] See i. 248.

[3] Zeuss (Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 457) suggests that these Suevi are perhaps the Semnones of Tacitus.

[4] We get the closing date (which is only an approximation) from the story of Berismund (see below), who, two or three years after the death of his grandfather Hunimund, migrated to Gaul, and arrived there in 418, at the time of the death of King Walia (Jordanes, De Rebus Geticis, xxxiii and xlviii).

were distinguished as chief movers, but in which they had no share. About the year 415 *Thorismund*, son of Hunimund, succeeded his father. He is said to have been still 'in the flower of his youth,' which we should hardly have expected from a grandson of the aged and long since deceased Hermanric, nor from a son of Hunimund, who had just died after a reign of forty years. In the second year of his reign he marched with an army against the Gepidae, won a mighty victory over them, but, apparently in the moment of victory, was killed by a fall from his horse.

Thorismund, 415-416.

Interregnum.

On the death of Thorismund some strange turn of fortune or popular caprice, the workings of which are evidently veiled in the narrative of Jordanes, obscured for a time the Amal kingship. We are told that, so great was the grief of the Ostrogoths for the loss of their young hero, that for forty years they would not allow any one to succeed in his place. His son Berismund, loathing the foreign dominion of the Huns and despising his nation for submitting to it, wandered off to the West and joined his fortunes to those of the Visigothic conquerors of Gaul, in which country he left descendants, one of whom [1] was eventually to receive in marriage the daughter of the great Theodoric. At the end of the forty years' interregnum the Ostrogoths, who considered that by this time Thorismund had been sufficiently lamented, reverted to the Amal stock, and raised Walamir, grandson of the patriotic but unfortunate Winithar, to the vacant throne.

[1] Eutharic, grandson of Berismund and husband of Amalasuntha.

BOOK IV. CH. 1.

Suggested explanation of the story in Jordanes.

There can be no doubt that this story of the forty years' mourning for the brave young Thorismund is mere Saga. Nations do not suspend the working of an institution so essential to their safety and well-being as was the barbaric royalty for an interval longer than a whole generation out of mere sentimental considerations. What was the real nature of the revolution which is thus poetically veiled from us we can only conjecture. A German author[1] has with some plausibility interwoven into this part of the history a detached notice preserved for us in the official letters of Cassiodorus[2] concerning a certain Gensemund. The writer is praising the quality of loyalty, when exhibited towards the boyish heirs of a great chief by leaders who have been adopted into his family[3]. 'Of this fidelity there is a distinguished example in the Gothic race. That Gensemund, whose fame is spread abroad throughout the whole world, though only adopted as a son-in-arms [by the deceased king], joined himself with such devotion to the Amal race that he rendered service of anxious fidelity to its heirs, although he himself was besought to wear the crown. He made his own merits available for others [his wards], and with unwonted moderation reserved for children the dignity which might have been bestowed on himself. Therefore his fame lives eternally in the songs of the Gothic race: he despised transitory greatness and earned deathless renown.'

Story of Gensemund.

[1] Köpke, p. 141, followed by Dahn, ii. 60.

[2] Variarum, viii. 9.

[3] As Tulum, whom he is addressing, had been into the Amal family by the now deceased Theodoric. Cassiodorus exhorts him to be even thus faithful to the young Athalaric.

It is possible that the interpolated reign of this loyal hero may be the true explanation of the fabled forty years' mourning for Thorismund. But on the other hand it is to be remarked, (1) that no word from Cassiodorus himself assigns these events to this particular period; (2) that if Cassiodorus had told the story here it would have excluded the Saga which Jordanes has without doubt copied from him; (3) that the point of the story of Gensemund is that he *refused* the crown which, in order to make the hypothesis fully fit the facts which are to be accounted for, he must have worn for forty years; and (4) that as the new Amal kings were evidently men in middle life at the end of the so-called interregnum, a loyalty which exhibited itself by keeping the heirs of the deceased monarch so long from the throne would hardly have been recommended for imitation under the circumstances of Athalaric's minority[1].

Another explanation.

A more probable explanation of this curious story seems to be that the Ostrogoths may really for a short

[1] I am the less disposed to accept this interpolated Gensemund as the explanation of the forty years' interval between Thorismund and Walamir, because Jordanes mentions a 'Gesimund' who seems to have been Thorismund's elder brother, and who probably died in the lifetime of their father Hunimund. He is speaking of the events immediately after the proclamation of Winithar (about 376–7): 'Sed cum tali libertate vix anni spatio imperasset, non est passus Balamber, rex Hunnorum, sed *ascito ad se Gesimundo Hunnimundi magni filio, qui juramenti sui et fidei memor cum ampla parte Gothorum Hunnorum imperio subjacebat,* renovatoque cum eo foedere super Vinitharium duxit exercitum.' Then follow the battles with Winithar. In two the latter is victorious, in the third he is defeated and killed. Hunimund succeeds, and after his long reign Thorismund; Gesimund having probably died before his father, though this is not expressly stated.

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time have hesitated about filling up the place left vacant by the death of their beloved young hero-king, that this hesitation may have caused them to split up into factions (since then, as so often since, Teutonic royalty and national unity were convertible terms), that this time of confusion may have been purposely prolonged by their Hunnish over-lords, in order to keep them in an enfeebled and depressed condition, but that at length, and not till after the kinsmen of Thorismund had reached and almost passed the prime of life, they succeeded in re-establishing the Amal royalty on something like its old basis.

Division of the kingdom.

The change which strikes us in the revived kingship of the Ostrogoths, and which makes these last qualifying words necessary, is that now for the first time we find the kingly power *divided*. That splitting up of the kingdom between a whole family of brothers which we so often meet with in the case of the Franks, and which was also apparently usual with the Huns, had not till now been practised in either branch of the great Gothic nation. Now, however, we find three kings—brothers—standing at the head of their people, and it is natural to suppose that this division of power was encouraged if not commanded by their Hunnish over-lord in order to keep the nation in a state of weakness and dependence. The three brothers are Walamir[1], Theudemir, and Widemir,

Walamir and his brothers.

[1] Photius (Bibliotheca, 340 a) has preserved for us a story that when Walamir was still in a subordinate position in Attila's court one of the courtiers saw him [when asleep?] breathing forth sparks, a prognostic of the future greatness of his house. 'This Walamir,' says Damascius the Neo-Platonist, from whom Photius is here extracting, 'was the father of that Theodoric who now wields the greatest power in the whole of Italy.' 'Ἀλλὰ

the eldest of whom, Walamir, had some sort of supremacy over his younger brothers, which is rather hinted at than explained in the flowery language of Jordanes: 'Of which three brothers, Walamir, by succession to his relatives, ascended the throne, the Huns still keeping a general supremacy over them, as over all the surrounding nations. And a fair sight was it then to see the union of these brothers when the admirable Theudemir fought under the orders of his brother Walamir, while Walamir helped each of the other two by the honours with which he adorned them [?], and Widemir, though serving, remembered that he served his brother[1].'

Battle of the Catalaunian Plains, 451.

Whatever may have been their mutual relations of supremacy and obedience, the three brothers served their Hunnish over-lord faithfully, followed his banners across the rivers and plains of Central Germany, and stood amid the 'crowd of kings[2]' who waited for his nod on the Catalaunian fields. It was a hard thing for them to fight against their Visigothic kindred, but

καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀττίλαν ἕνα ὄντα τὸν Βαλίμεριν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος ἀποπάλλειν σπινθῆρας· ὁ δὲ ἦν ὁ Βαλίμερις Θεοδερίχου πατὴρ ὃς νῦν τὸ μέγιστον ἔχει κράτος Ἰταλίας πάσης. As we shall see, Theodoric was really the nephew of Walamir, but the Byzantine writers, who knew of his coming to Constantinople as a pledge for Walamir's fidelity, could never get it out of their heads that he was his son.

[1] 'Ex quibus per successionem parentum Valamir in regnum conscendit, adhuc Hunnis eos inter alias gentes generaliter optinentibus. Eratque tunc in tribus his germanis contemplatio grata, quando mirabilis Thiudimer pro fratris Valamir militabat imperio, Valamir vero pro altero jubebat ornando (? juvabat ornando *or* jubebat ordinando). Vidimer servire fratribus aestimabat.' (Jord. de Reb. Get. xlviii.) It is impossible to translate Jordanes without paraphrasing him.

[2] 'Turba regum,' Jord. xxxviii.

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they dared not to refuse the orders of Attila, 'for the compulsion of the master,' thinks Jordanes, 'must be obeyed, even though he should order parricide[1].' And on that great day, as we have before seen[2], Walamir the Ostrogoth, trusty, good-tempered, open-hearted, shared with the Gepid Ardaric the honour of being admitted to the inmost counsels of the moody barbarian.

Yoke of the Huns thrown off, 454.

Then came, close upon Attila's death, the glorious day of Nedao, when the German tribes which had deemed themselves compelled to do his bidding, even though the deed were parricide, faced his sons in fight, and broke the Hunnish yoke from off their necks. Thus were the Ostrogoths once more free after eighty years of subjection, and pressing, as we may suppose, westwards and southwards, to fill up the vacuum caused by the extrusion of the Huns, they came into possession of the once flourishing but now, no doubt, grievously wasted province of Pannonia. There must have been some recognition, however faint, of the Roman right to this province, some relation of covenanted service (foederatio) to be rendered to Valentinian III in return for its occupation, for Jordanes distinctly says that 'they preferred to seek lands from the Roman realm, rather than at their peril to invade the lands of others, and thus they *accepted* Pannonia . . . a country adorned with a great number of cities, from Sirmium at one end to Vindobona (Vienna) at the other.' At this time the relation of the Ostrogoths to the Empire was probably almost the same as that of their Visigothic brethren forty

Occupy Pannonia as Foederati of the Empire.

[1] Jord. xlviii.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 128.

years earlier, when Walia obtained possession by treaty of the district of Septimania in Aquitaine.

Geographical position of the kingdoms of the three brothers.

As to the precise distribution of the Pannonian territory between the three brothers, Jordanes does not give a very clear account. He says that 'Walamir dwelt between the rivers Scarniunga and the Black Water, Theudemir next to Lake Pelso, and Widemir between the other two.' Unfortunately, it seems hopeless to attempt to identify the two rivers; and even as to the lake, there is a certain degree of hesitation between Neusiedler See in the north-west corner of Hungary, and Platten See, more than a hundred miles to the south-east of it. But till local antiquaries shall have produced some decided arguments in favour of another hypothesis, we may perhaps safely assert that Walamir in the south occupied the provinces of Sclavonia and Northern Croatia which lie between the rivers Drave and Save, that Theudemir in the east ruled a broad belt of country between the Danube and the Platten See, and that the triangle in the north-west between the Platten See, the Save and the Danube was allotted to the youngest brother Widemir[1].

Walamir's fight with the Huns.

Their old lords the Huns would not accept the verdict of the day of Nedao as final, but still considered the Ostrogoths as absconding slaves. The sons of Attila came with a great host against Walamir,

[1] It has been suggested that the Roman division between Pannonia Prima, Valeria, and Savia was adopted by the three brothers. The difficulty in the way of accepting this plausible hypothesis is that it renders it impossible to assign the Platten See to Theudemir and to place Widimir strictly between his brothers.

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before his brothers were apprised of his danger. He met them, we are told, with an army greatly inferior in numbers, but so bravely withstood their onset that only a comparatively small part of the invading army was able to escape to their new abodes near the mouth of the mighty stream which the Huns called in their own language Var, but which was just then beginning to be known in Europe by its modern name, the Dnieper[1]. The news of this successful engagement came to the palace of Theudemir on the very day on which 'the boy of good omen,' THEODORIC, was born to him by his concubine, Erelieva. Notwithstanding the word which implies the inferior position of the mother of Theodoric, he was always treated as lawful heir to his father, and the widowed Erelieva seems to have maintained the position which would belong to Queen-mother in a half-civilised people. It is probable, therefore, that, though she was of inferior birth to her husband, the union between them was one sanctioned by the Church, somewhat resembling the morganatic marriages of modern Germany, but unlike those as conveying full right of inheritance to the offspring, at any rate where there was not a subsequent marriage to a woman of higher rank[3].

Birth of Theodoric the Great, 454 (?)[2].

[1] 'Eas partes Scythiae peteret quas Danabri amnis fluenta praetermeant, quam linguâ suâ Hunni Var appellant.' Thus reads Mommsen instead of the old lections Danubii and Hunnivar (in one word). He remarks that the Hungarians to this day call a river *var*.

[2] 454 is the generally accepted date for the birth of Theodoric, but it is not quite clear that it ought not to be placed a year or two earlier. See note on p. 25.

[3] Compare Freeman's remarks on 'Danish Marriages' (Norman Conquest, i. Note X): 'The essence of this kind of connexion

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Name of Theodoric.

Something must be said as to the *name* of the infant over whose arrival the household of Theudemir were rejoicing when the messenger of Walamir dashed into the court-yard of the palace and shouted 'Victory!' Like the two Visigoths, father and son, who reigned at Toulouse and fought with Attila, his name is indelibly written in the pages of history as *Theodoric.* This form of the name became current so early (we meet with it in the letters of Sidonius and the annals of Prosper), and obtained so wide a circulation, that it is useless now to seek to change it. But it is right to notice that the true form of the name, which is very fairly represented by the *Theuderichus*[1] of the Byzantine historians, is THIUDA-REIKS[2], and signifies 'the people-ruler[3].' It is a curious coincidence that the name is nearly equivalent in meaning to that of the Athenian orator Demosthenes[4]. One might have expected that the courtly and scholarly Cassiodorus, who so faithfully served Theodoric as secretary, would have availed himself of this resemblance in some one of the many

seems to be that the woman is the man's wife, but that the man is not the woman's husband. He can evidently leave her at pleasure, but there is no recorded instance of her leaving him.'

[1] Θευδέρικος (in Malchus, Procopius, Joannes Antiochenus, &c.). The form Theodericus with an *e* seems to be also almost invariably that which occurs in inscriptions.

[2] In Gothic characters 𐌸𐌹𐌿𐌳𐌰𐍂𐌴𐌹𐌺𐍃.

[3] On the termination -reiks, see vol. i. p. 676. This part of the name is common to it with Alaric, Genseric, and many more. Observe that *thiuda* = people, *thiudans* = king, a striking proof that the king was conceived of as representing the concentrated force of the nation.

[4] The precise equivalent, I suppose, would be Democrates, or rather Laocrates, if there were such a name.

BOOK IV. CH. 1.

harangues which he prepared for his master to deliver to the Roman Senate or to the envoys of foreign courts[1].

His childhood.

But this is an anticipation. We return to the young Teuton, with the yellow locks falling to his shoulders, playing with his toy broad-sword in his father's palace. There came a day, bitter without doubt and memorable to the childish heart, but fraught with future good, when he had to leave his mother and his brother, the Danube and the fresh air of the Pannonian highlands, his folk and the old warriors' songs at night-fall about the great deeds of his Amal forefathers, and had to spend ten years of heart-ache, but also of keen interest and thought-stimulating wonder, in the purple presence-chamber of the Caesar at Constantinople. The change came to pass on this wise. When Theodoric was seven years old the Ostrogothic brothers found that the tribute, which under the delicate euphemism of *Strenae*[2] (New

Gothic grievances.

[1] It may be asked, Why was the name Thiuda-reiks so early and so persistently altered into Theodericus? I suspect that the answer is contained in the words of Sidonius (Ep. ii. 1, already quoted, vol. ii. p. 340), 'leges Theodosianas calcans, Theodoricianasque proponens.' There is really no philological connexion between *θεός* and *thiuda*, but the names of the Gothic king and the Roman emperor were so much alike already that, by a well-known process, popular speech made the resemblance still closer.

[2] The word which still survives in the French *étrennes*. We are told by Suetonius (Tib. xxxiv) that Tiberius by one of his sumptuary laws forbade 'strenarum commercium, ne ultra Calendas Januarias exerceretur,' an edict as suitable for Paris as for Rome. The text of Jordanes (De Reb. Get. lii.) in Mommsen's edition is as follows: 'Consueta dum tardarent dona a principe Marciano quae ad instar *strenuae* acciperent.' Gruter has the merit of striking out the word 'gentis' after 'strenuae' which obscured

Year's presents) they had been taught to look for from the Emperor Leo[1], was falling into arrear. They sent envoys to Constantinople to enquire into the cause of the delay, and the report which these messengers brought back made the grievance greater.

There was a certain Gothic chieftain, the son of Triarius, (of whom there will be more to say hereafter,) at the Byzantine court. This man was a kinsman of the great Aspar, had perhaps been on friendly terms with Leo, when the future Emperor was only a sort of upper steward of their common patron[2], and therefore he, coming from some quite inferior stock, with no claim to Amal ancestry, was honoured with the friendship of the Romans and was punctually receiving his yearly honorarium, while the Amals were left to poverty and contempt. The insult was too exasperating; they rushed to arms, and ravaged Moesia far and wide[3]. Then the Emperor repented of his previous inattention to their demands. Peace

War.

the meaning of the passage. The variation between the forms strenae, strenuae, and streniae is partly explained by the statement in Symmachus' Epistles (x. 28) quoted in White and Riddell's Dictionary (s. v.).

[1] Jordanes says that *Marcian* promised and then withheld these gifts (see previous note), but this seems to me exceedingly improbable when we remember his steadfast refusal to pay tribute to Attila. Moreover, Marcian died at the beginning of 457, when Theodoric was certainly under three years old, instead of seven. If Leo was on the throne, the extraordinary favour shown to Theodoric the son of Triarius, the relation of Aspar, Leo's patron, becomes also more probable.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 443.

[3] Jordanes says, 'Illyricum pene totum discurrentes in praedâ devastant.' But the *province* of Illyricum (Dalmatia &c.) at this time still belonged to the Western Empire. If he means the *prefecture*, 'pene totum' is one of his usual exaggerations.

BOOK IV. CH. 1.

Treaty.

was arranged; the arrears of *strenae* were at once handed over, and their punctual payment in future was guaranteed. On their part the Ostrogoths must have undertaken to confine their rovings to the northern shores of the Danube; and in pledge of their future fidelity the eldest Amal heir, Theodoric, was to be sent as a hostage to Constantinople.

Theodoric sent to Constantinople as a hostage.

Theudemir demurred to this proposal, that he should send his boy to live among unsympathising strangers; but when Walamir, who might have commanded as his lord, besought him as a brother, and urged the importance of ratifying a firm peace between Goths and Romans, he consented. So was the young prince brought to Constantinople, where, being a handsome noble-spirited boy, he soon endeared himself greatly to the Emperor Leo.

Obscure wars.

After the conclusion of the treaty with the Empire, which the Goths appear to have observed faithfully during the ten years of Theodoric's sojourn at Constantinople, there followed some obscure and uninteresting struggles with the barbarous nations on their northern and eastern borders. The Ostrogoths moved against the Sadages, an Alan or Hunnish tribe whose geographical position we need not trouble ourselves to discuss[1]. Seeing them thus occupied, Dinzio, one of the sons of Attila who dwelt on their southern border, crossed the Danube with the warriors of four barbarous clans which still followed his standard[2] and

[1] 'Qui interiorem Pannoniam possidebant,' says Jordanes (cap. liii). Zeuss (p. 709) corrects to 'inferiorem,' which certainly seems more probable. In cap. l. Jordanes places the Sadagarii (apparently the same tribe) in the Lesser Scythia and the Lower Moesia.

[2] Ultzinzures, Angisciri, Bittugures, Bardores, according to

besieged Bassiana[1], once a Roman city of some importance, and containing a *gynaeceum*, or manufactory, in which, a century before, female slaves wove the purple robe of the Emperor and the linen tunics of his soldiery[2]. Now, the Hunnish chieftain, finding it inaccessible to his storming parties, drew a line of circumvallation round it and proceeded to plunder the surrounding country. While he was thus engaged, the Ostrogoths, who had turned back from their expedition against the Sadages, attacked the Huns and drove them forth from Pannonia, so utterly defeated, says Jordanes, that the men of that nation ever after trembled before the Gothic name.

Position of the Suevi.

The next encounters of the Goths were with the Suevi or Suavi, a portion of that wide-spread confederacy of peoples which presents to us some of the most difficult problems of German ethnology. Caesar tells us of his encounters with the Suevic Ariovistus on the Rhine. Tacitus makes them stretch across Germany from the sources of the Danube to the Vistula, and paints for us the splendid but short-lived empire erected by the Suevic Maroboduus in that which we now call Bohemia. In a previous part of this history we have seen the Suevi pressing, with the Vandals, across the Rhine into Gaul, across the Pyrenees into Spain, and founding a kingdom in the latter country, which, though eventually destroyed by

Jordanes, who however has a genius for distorting proper names till they become hopelessly unrecognisable.

[1] Bassiana is placed by Mommsen (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. iii.) on the Raab in Hungary, about twenty miles east of Stein-am-Anger.

[2] Notitia Occidentis, cap. x.

the Visigoths, is thought by some to have contributed a trace of separate Suevic nationality to the modern Portuguese: and we have also seen the Suevic chieftain Ricimer arrayed as a Roman patrician, disposing of the destinies of Rome at his pleasure, setting up and dethroning emperors, marrying the daughter of Anthemius, and bidding Avitus assume the tonsure of a priest. The Suevi with whom we are now concerned dwelt in the south-west corner of Germany, in the region which is now known as the Black Forest, and away eastwards along the Upper Danube, perhaps as far as the river Lech. They were already mingled with the Alamanni of the mountains, a process which was no doubt carried yet further when, some thirty years after the time now reached by us, Clovis overthrew the monarchy of the Alamanni, whom he drove remorselessly forth from all the lands north of the Neckar. The result of these migrations and alliances was the formation of the two great Duchies with which we are so familiar in the mediaeval history of Germany, Suabia and Franconia. Suabia, which is a convertible term with Alamannia, represents the land left to the mingled Suevi and Alamanni; Franconia that occupied east of the Rhine by the intrusive Franks. The reason for calling attention to this geographical detail here is that in the passage of Jordanes which we have now before us we see most clearly the transition from the Suevi of Caesar and Tacitus to the *Swabia* from which the great Hohenstaufen Emperors took their ducal title[1].

[1] The words of Jordanes (lv) are, 'Nam regio illa Suavorum ab oriente Baibaros [= Bajoarios] habet, ab occidente Francos, a meridie Burgundzones, a septentrione Thuringos. Quibus

The war between Ostrogoths and Suevi arose in this wise. Hunimund king of the Suevi made a raid on some portion of the Roman territory[1], and in order to reach it had to cross the lands of the Ostrogoths, whose wandering cattle his people appropriated. Cattle, it need hardly be said, were emphatically the wealth of these early Teutonic communities[2]; and, just as the

BOOK IV. CH. 1.

War with the Suevi.

Suavis tunc juncti aderant etiam Alamanni ipsique Alpes erectos omnino regentes, unde nonnulla fluenta Danubium influunt nimio cum sonu vergentia.' The MSS. waver between Suavi and Suevi. The geography, as usual with Jordanes, is not quite clear. The Bavarians to the east are all right, but Franks on the west should have been Burgundians. The Burgundians on the south may be perhaps partly justified by the Burgundian occupation of a large part of Switzerland: but for the Thuringians on the north we should certainly substitute the Franks, since the territory which lay to the south of the Thuringians was now occupied by the Bavarians. In other words, the diagram suggested by Jordanes,

	Thuringians	
Franks	SUAVI	Bavarians
	Burgundians,	

must be replaced by this,

	Franks	
Burgundians	SUAVI	Bavarians
	Burgundians.	

I am inclined to think that 'the waterfall pouring into the *Danube*,' of which Jordanes speaks, is really meant for Schaffhausen. There is a source of confusion in the fact that *the Roman province of Savia*—the modern Sclavonia between the Drave and Save—*is called Suavia* both by Cassiodorus (see Var. ix. 8) and his copyist Jordanes (liii, 'Dalmatia Suaviae vicina erat'). Of course this has nothing to do with Sueves or Swabians, though Jordanes confuses the two.

[1] Dalmatia, says Jordanes, but a march from the sources of the Danube across Pannonia to Dalmatia is highly improbable.

[2] *Faihu* (connected with the German 'vieh'), originally meaning 'cattle,' is used in Ulfilas also for wealth in the abstract, and the Aramaic Mammon is translated by *Faihu-thraihns*, a 'heap of treasure.'

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Fosters and Armstrongs of Northumberland resented and requited a cattle-lifting foray of the Kerrs or Scotts from the Scottish side of the Border, so did Walamir and his brothers watch their opportunity to repay the Sueves for their depredations. In the dead of night they came upon them encamped by the lake Pelso, slew many with the sword, made a prisoner of King Hunimund, and reduced the bulk of his army to slavery. After a time, however, and apparently after the death of King Hunimund, Walamir effected some sort of reconciliation with his son, and sent him back with his followers to their native Suavia. The generous forgiveness, which Jordanes praises, was probably due to the difficulty of obtaining subsistence for the added multitude and the danger of enslaving so large a people, as martial probably as their conquerors.

The war renewed.

After a further lapse of time (we have now probably reached the year 470) the son of Hunimund, remembering the shame of the defeat rather than the boasted clemency of the conqueror, made a sudden assault upon the Ostrogoths, having leagued himself with their northern neighbours the Scyri. In the battle which ensued King Walamir was thrown from his horse and at once perished, pierced through and through with Suevic lances. Jordanes obscures the real issue of the contest by saying that in their rage for the loss of their king the Ostrogoths blotted out the name of the Scyri from under heaven: but it is evident that the true result of these operations was not only the death of Walamir but a severe defeat of his people.

Death of Walamir.

Theudemir, the next oldest brother, assumed the

War with the Suevi and Scyri.

chief kingship and fought a bloody battle with the Suevi and Scyri, who had also confederated with themselves the Gepidae, the Rugians, and a race designated by the conveniently vague term of Sarmatians[1]. This great confederacy was defeated by the Ostrogoths, now prepared and united, upon the banks of the Bollia (perhaps the modern Ipoly). After the battle the field presented the usual spectacle of carnage on which Jordanes delights to dwell,—the wide waters of the marsh turned into a red sea, a lake of blood, and the plain for ten miles round covered with artificial hillocks formed from the unburied corpses of the slain. 'The Goths saw this and rejoiced with unspeakable exultation, feeling that now at length their king Walamir was avenged.'

Return of Theodoric, 471 (?).

Another campaign followed, a winter campaign, in which Theudemir, crossing the frozen Danube, and marching perhaps through Moravia and Bohemia, took the Suevi and their confederate Alamanni in the rear, and, falling upon them thus unexpectedly, 'conquered, wasted, and almost subdued them[2].' Returning home the father's heart was gladdened by the sight of his

[1] It is on this occasion that Jordanes mentions (liv) the names of Edica and Hunuulf, the *primates* of the Scyri. The names certainly resemble those of the father and brother of Odovacar, but I must repeat, more emphatically, the conviction previously expressed (vol. ii. p. 530, n. 1) that the resemblance is purely accidental, and that this passage throws no light on Odovacar's parentage.

[2] 'Devicit, vastavit et pene subegit' is the curious expression of Jordanes. The 'pene,' which he has been truthful enough to express here, should probably be understood in connexion with many of the Gothic victories described by him.

BOOK IV. CH. 1.

son Theodoric, now a youth of about seventeen years of age, versed doubtless in Roman and courtly ways, if not imbued with Roman literature. The Emperor Leo had sent him back from the Bosporus to his home with rich presents and high good-will. Scarcely had the young lion-cub reached the lair of his fathers, when he set forth again for his first taste of blood. Gathering to himself some of his father's guards and men of his nation who loved him, to the number of 10,000 men (a precise reproduction of the old Germanic *Comitatus* as described to us by Tacitus[1]), he stole away unknown to his father, crossed the Danube where it formed the south-eastern frontier of Pannonia, and attacked Babai king of the Sarmatians, who was just then swelling with the pride of victory, having recently defeated Camundus[2], the Roman Duke of Upper Moesia, and taken from the Empire the important city of Singidunum (Belgrade). The young Ostrogoth conquered, wrested Singidunum from the Sarmatian, did not restore it to his Roman patrons, but kept it under his own sway, and returned with his joyous *Comitatus* to his father, having furnished another subject for song to the Gothic minstrels. Either at this time, or else on his return from Constantinople, he seems to have been hailed by his nation as king, of course in subordination to his father and uncle. Thirty years later (500), when he was lord of Italy, Dalmatia and Rhaetia, he rode through

His defeat of the Sarmatians.

[1] 'Haec dignitas, hae vires: magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari in pace decus, in bello praesidium.' Tacitus, Germania, xiii.

[2] Jordanes is responsible for this name. If it was really borne by a Roman general, he was no doubt of barbarian origin.

the streets of Rome celebrating the *tricennalia* of this, his accession to the Gothic throne[1].

Breach with the Empire.

If the Emperor Leo had thought to attach the Ostrogoths firmly to the Empire by his friendly treatment of the young Theodoric, he was disappointed. A foretaste of that which was to come had been afforded by the retention of the Roman city of Singidunum in Gothic hands. Next year (not many months before the death of Leo) the Ostrogoths, who had for some time been coming to the conclusion that Pannonia was too strait for them, and who were hindered, perhaps by the increasing strength and solidity of the Rugian monarchy, from enriching themselves as they wished at the expense of their barbarian neighbours, clamoured to be led forth to war; whither they heeded not, but it was evidently understood that it must be war against some part of the Empire. Theudemir called his brother into council. It was decided that Widemir, as the weaker of the two, should invade Italy, then recently bereft of the stout heart of the unscrupulous Ricimer, and, under the rule of the feeble Glycerius, apparently sinking into a mere appanage of Burgundy. The issue

[1] It occurs to me that this must be the meaning of the words of the Anon. Valesii (§ 67), 'Per tricennalem triumphans populo ingressus palatium.' The only difficulty is, that as that triumphal entry into Rome took place in A.D. 500, we must date Theodoric's accession not later than 471. But his birth is generally dated in 454, and Jordanes states that he was eight years old when sent to Constantinople and resided there ten years, which would bring us to 472. It is perhaps deserving of consideration whether the battle with the Huns which was contemporary with the birth of Theodoric may not have taken place as early as 452, before the migration into Pannonia. In that case our difficulty disappears.

of this invasion has been already told[1]. Widemir died in Italy, and his son and namesake led his army into Gaul, where, waiving apparently his royal dignity, he united his forces with those of Euric, king of the Visigoths.

Invasion of Moesia and Macedonia.

To Theudemir, as the stronger of the two brothers, was assigned the task of attacking the Eastern Empire. He crossed the Save with a formidable host, which imposed neutrality on the Sarmatian borderers. Making his son's new conquest, Belgrade, his base of operations, he marched a hundred miles up the valley of the Morava to Naissus, now the Servian city of Nisch, where he took up his headquarters. The young Theodoric, with two Gothic counts, probably old and wary officers, Astat and Invilia, as his counsellors, was sent on a rapid southward march. He pushed up the Morava valley for another hundred miles to the source of that river, crossed the western ridge of the Balkans, and descended by the valley of the Axius (*Vardar*), having apparently, in order to circumvent the foe, deviated somewhat from the beaten track and traversed some passes previously deemed inaccessible. Stobi and Heraclea (*Monastir*) in Macedonia, possibly even Larissa in Thessaly[2], fell before him, and yielded a rich booty to his followers. Theudemir, apprised of these brilliant successes of his son, quitted his camp at Naissus and moved forward with the main body of his troops to Thessalonica. That terrible push[3] from

[1] Vol. ii. p. 481.

[2] Jordanes asserts this, but there may be some confusion with Theodoric's later operations in Thessaly.

[3] 'Der Stoss sudwärts' of German politics.

Vienna to Salonica, which the diplomacy of our days is so busy with, alternately affirming and denying that Austria contemplates its accomplishment, was actually made, with brisk efficiency, by Theudemir and his son in the spring of 473.

The *Foedus* renewed.

The Patrician Hilarianus who commanded in Thessalonica, seeing the siege of that city commenced by the barbarians, a wall of circumvallation built, and every sign that they were likely to succeed, opened negotiations with Theudemir. Handsome presents were given to the barbarian chiefs, the old figment of a covenant (*foedus*) between the Empire and her brave Gothic allies was furbished up again; the latter promised to abstain from further ravage, and received in return fertile lands and a group of cities at the head of the Aegean, among which figure the well-known names of Pella, Methone, Pydna, and Berea, for their possession.

Death of Theudemir, 474 (?).

Shortly after these events Theudemir, the last of the three Amal brethren, died, and his eldest son Theodoric, now twenty years of age, whom he had designated as his heir in the presence of a general assembly of the Goths, succeeded to the sole kingship. By some change, the cause and the date of which are entirely hidden from us, the settlements of the nation were transferred from the head of the Aegean to the western shore of the Black Sea, where in the region now called the Dobrudscha, then known as the Roman province of Scythia, the native land of Alaric and Aetius, we find them settled in the year 478, when we next cross the path of Theodoric.

NOTE A. On the Route of the Ostrogothic Army and their settlement in Macedonia.

NOTE A.

The sites of the towns mentioned in the 56th chapter of Jordanes are discussed by Mommsen, C. I. L. iii. p. 268, and in Jordanes, p. 132.

About *Naissus* (Nisch) there is no doubt. *Castra Herculis*, the next place mentioned by Jordanes, is fixed by the Itineraries 14 miles from Naissus, perhaps at the point where a road to Scupi branched off from that to Scodra.

The site of *Ulpiana* is very doubtful. Mommsen seems to think it is generally placed too far south, and that it was really the first stage from Castra Herculis on the road to Scupi.

Stobi is recovered by modern editors with the help of the Palatine MSS. from the utter confusion of the old text. This had, 'Qui venientes, tam eam, *quam et opes* mox in deditionem acceperunt.' The Palatine MSS. read 'quam mestobis.' Closs proposed and Mommsen reads 'quam Stobis.' The modern representation of Stobi is believed to be the village of Czerna Gratzko, near the confluence of the Czerna and Vardar (Erigon and Axius). It was an important place as, here, four roads met, from Scupi, Sardica, Heraclea, and Thessalonica. (See Tozer's 'Highlands of Turkey,' i. 376.)

As for the towns granted to the Goths the amended text of Jordanes runs thus:—

'Loca [Gothis] jam sponte, quae incolerent, tradidit, id est Cerru, Pellas, Europa, Mediana, Petina, Bereu et alia quae Sium vocatur' (cap. lvi).

These are identified by Mommsen as

(1) Cyrrhus.

(2) Pella, the birthplace of Alexander the Great.

(3) Europus.

(4) Methone.

(5) Pydna, scene of the defeat of Perseus B.C. 168.

(6) Berea, mentioned in Acts of the Apostles, xvii. 10. NOTE A.

(7) For Sium he would read Dium, in the Thermaic Gulf.

These towns are all situated in Macedonia Prima near the N. W. angle of the Aegean Sea, and occupy a block of territory perhaps 60 miles long by 30 wide.

The chief part of these identifications must be right. But seeing that the Antonine Itinerary (224–225) gives us both *Beroe* and *Cium* on the eastern shore of the Lower Danube, in that very province of Scythia where we next meet with Theodoric's allotment, I am disposed to suggest that Jordanes, misled perhaps by the resemblance between Berea and Beroe, has run two lists into one, and that the words 'Bereu et alia quae Sium vocatur' belonged in Cassiodorus to the later settlement of the Goths, that in the Dobrudscha, which he probably described here but which Jordanes has omitted.

It is always safe to suspect a blunder in Jordanes, and we must remember that according to his own account all his notes from Cassiodorus had to be completed in three days.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF ZENO.

Authorities.

Sources:—

MALCHUS (see vol. ii. p. 506) lived probably about the end of the fifth century. He came from Philadelphia in Palestine to Constantinople, where he taught as a Sophist, and attained considerable eminence as a rhetorician. Unlike many of his fellow historians, he was a professed Christian. His history called *Byzantiaca*, in seven books, was read by Photius, who praises its purity of diction and elevation of style, and calls it the model of what a history ought to be. The portion of it with which Photius was acquainted reached from the death of Leo I (thus forming a continuation of the work of Priscus) to the death of Nepos, Emperor of the West (474–480): but there is reason to believe that the entire work reached from the reign of Constantine the Great to that of Anastasius (306–491). Unfortunately we know it only by a very short compendium in the Bibliotheca of Photius, by a few biographical notices extracted from it by Suidas, and by the excerpts made by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his 'History of Embassies,' which are extremely valuable and interesting, but break off abruptly as soon as the story of each particular embassy is finished.

CANDIDUS the Isaurian, born in that part of Isauria which was called the Rugged (Τραχεῖα = Aspera), came to Constantinople and obtained employment as a notary or registrar (ὑπογραφεύς) at the time when the fortunes of his countrymen were in the ascendant. He probably left the capital at the time of the general emigration of the Isaurians on the death of Zeno (491). He was a Christian and an adherent of the council of Chalcedon.

He wrote, probably soon after 491, the history of the times from the accession of Leo to that of Anastasius (457–491). This work would have been of great value, as giving the Isaurian version of the acts of Zeno and his countrymen, but unfortunately we possess it only in the Compendium (a tolerably full one) inserted by Photius in his Bibliotheca. Photius says that the style of this author is wanting in historic composure, that he uses poetical phrases without taste and like a very young writer, and that, altogether, the effect is harsh, dithyrambic, and unpleasing. This description seems to bring before us an excited party-pamphlet written by an imperfectly educated Asiatic Highlander, after the fall of himself and his party from power. To the amusement of his critic he derives the name of his country, Isauria, from Esau.

EUSTATHIUS of Epiphania in Syria wrote a history of the events from the beginning of time down to the 12th year of Anastasius (502), shortly after which date he died. This history is known to us almost entirely by the extracts made from it by EVAGRIUS the ecclesiastical historian, who himself lived between 536 and 600. He says that Eustathius wrote 'very elegantly' (μετὰ τῆς ἐς ἄγαν κομψείας). Evagrius is also himself an authority of some importance, even where he does not professedly base himself upon Eustathius.

(These three authors are here quoted, as from Müller's 'Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum,' vol. iv. (Paris, 1868). They are also contained in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine Historians.)

THEODORUS LECTOR compiled an ecclesiastical history reaching from the times of Constantine to those of Justinian. He was probably a contemporary of the latter emperor, and perhaps survived till the reign of Justin II (565–578). His work is chiefly known to us by extracts made by Nicephorus Callistus (14th cent.), also by a few fragments preserved by Joannes Damascenus (8th cent.) and others. There is reason to think that Theophanes, and perhaps other historians, borrowed largely from him. Notwithstanding the fragmentary condition in which his works have come down to us, he must be considered one of our best authorities for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius.

(Compare the excellent article on this writer in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.' Considering the commonness of the name Theodore, it does not appear necessary

BOOK IV. CH. 2. to accept the suggestion there made that he is the same Theodore who saw the fall of a statue in the reign of Philippicus (711–713) and thus to make him an authority only of the eighth century).

JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS flourished probably in the middle of the seventh century, say between 610 and 650, and composed a history reaching from the mythological period to the reign of the emperor Phocas (602–610), of which we possess some fragments. In the earlier portions he compiles extensively from Dion, Eutropius, and other well-known authors. 'For the reign of Zeno,' as C. Müller remarks (from whose edition quotations are here made), 'he has followed some author, whom we know not, of excellent quality, and the fragments in Joannes relating to this reign are of the greatest importance.' He seems to have been in his turn copied from by Joannes *Malalas*, also of Antioch, who flourished about 700, and with whom he has been sometimes confused.

JOANNES LYDUS, an officer in the law-courts of Justinian, writing about 553, gives us an unfavourable estimate of Zeno's character.

THEOPHANES (758–816) and the PASCHAL (or ALEXANDRIAN) CHRONICLE (about 630) furnish as usual some curious details, probably copied from contemporary authors, but which have to be used with caution on account of their later date.

The only chroniclers in Roncalli's collection who are of any service to us here are MARCELLINUS COMES (about 534) and VICTOR TUNNUNENSIS (who died in 569).

Guides :—

It will be seen from the above list that we have a good deal of contemporary or nearly contemporary information for this period, but that it has reached us in a very fragmentary state. This makes it difficult to construct a continuous narrative, and is probably one reason why the reign of Zeno has been so slightly noticed, except by ecclesiastical historians. The only guide whom I have found of much value is the ever-patient Tillemont, whose accurate digest of history is especially helpful when we have to deal with such materials as these. There is also a very good article on Illus, by J. C. Means, in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.'

[Since the publication of the first edition of this book, Professor Bury and Mr. E. W. Brooks have written concerning the reign of Zeno. For some corrections suggested by them, see Note at the end of the chapter.]

CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF ZENO.

CONSULS[1].	EVENTS.	DATE.
LEO JUNIOR. . .	Leo I died (3 Feb.). Zeno proclaimed Emperor (9 Feb.). Leo II died (Nov.).	474
ZENO (II) . . .	Usurpation of Basiliscus. Flight of Zeno (Clinton says in November; but how reconcile this with the statement of Joan. Ant. that Zeno's flight was on the ninth day of his consulship ?).	475
BASILISCUS (II), ARMATUS (or Harmatius).	(Deposition of Romulus Augustulus).	476
POST CONSULATUM BASILISCI ET ARMATI.	Fall of Basiliscus (July). Embassies from Rome.	477
ILLUS	The two Theodorics coalesce against the Empire.	478
ZENO (III) . . .	Theodoric, son of Triarius, enters Zeno's service. Revolt of Marcian. Campaign of Theodoric the Amal in Epirus Nova.	479
BASILIUS JUNIOR. W.	Earthquake at Constantinople (24 Sep.).	480
PLACIDUS . . .	Deaths of Theodoric son of Triarius, and of Sabinianus.	481
TROCUNDUS AND SEVERINUS.	Theodoric the Amal ravages Thessaly and Macedonia. The Henoticon (according to Clinton in 483).	482

[1] Those who represented the West are marked with W.

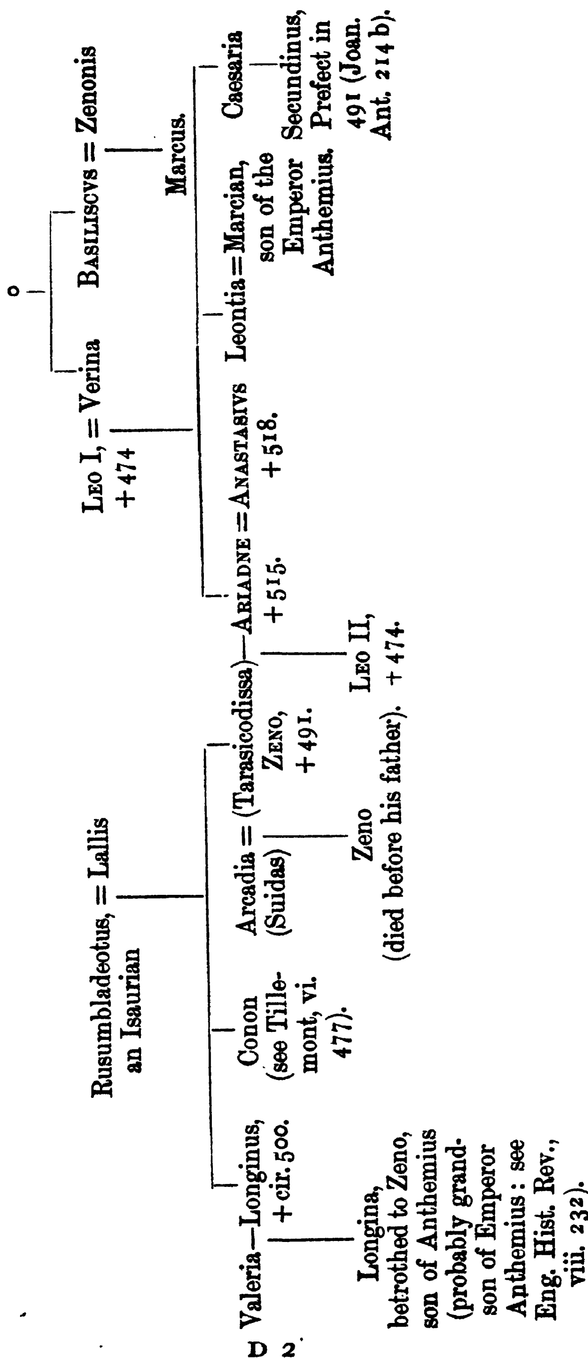
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CONSULS.	EVENTS.		DATE.
FAUSTUS. W. . .	Theodoric made *Magister Militiae Praesentalis.*		483
THEODORICUS AND VENANTIUS. W.	Revolt of Illus and Verina. Leontius proclaimed emperor. Enters Antioch (27 June).		484
Q. AURELIUS SYMMACHUS. W.	Release of Longinus by Illus after ten years' captivity . .	War with Illus and Leontius	485
DECIUS AND LONGINUS.	. . . .		486
FL. BOETHIUS. W.	Theodoric approaches Constantinople with his army . . .		487
DYNAMIUS AND SIFIDIUS.	Theodoric starts for Italy. Illus and Leontius taken and beheaded		488
ANICIUS PROBINUS (W.) AND EUSEBIUS.	. . . .		489
LONGINUS (II) AND FAUSTUS. W.	Zeno puts Pelagius to death. Flight of Arcadius.		490
OLYBRIUS . . .	Death of Zeno (9 April). Accession of Anastasius.		491

(Isaurian Rebellion, 492–497.)

We have now followed the fortunes of the young Ostrogoth down to the time when he settled as a Gothic *foederatus* in the home provinces of the Eastern Empire. In order to understand his subsequent career, and even in order rightly to appreciate the scanty notices of his future rival, Odovacar, as ruler of Italy, we must grasp the connection of events in that city which was now virtually the capital of the world, the New Rome beside the Thracian Bosporus; we must, at the cost of some little repetition, trace the outline of the reign of the Emperor Zeno.

GENEALOGY OF ZENO.



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Isaurian origin of Zeno.

This Emperor, as the reader may remember, bore at first the barbarous name and style of Tarasicodissa, the son of Rusumbladeotus[1], a name which he changed to Zeno, in memory of one of his countrymen who a generation previously had climbed up to greatness in the Roman State[2]. He came from Isauria, that wild upland region on the northern skirts of Mount Taurus, between Cilicia and Phrygia, which Paul and Barnabas traversed in their missionary journey to Derbe and Lystra, but which the Roman legionary for three centuries after Christ found it difficult to penetrate and impossible to subdue. The part which this obscure mountainous corner of Asia Minor played in the politics of the Lower Empire is truly extraordinary. We shall find that Zeno and his Isaurian countrymen were, for near twenty years, the dreaded and hated lords of Constantinople. They depart and disappear for a time, but, two centuries later, another

Leo III and Constantine V, 716 775.

Isaurian, the hero-emperor Leo III, ascends the throne, commences and all but carries through a mighty religious reformation (the Iconoclastic), and transmits his throne to a son whose reign with his own makes up a period of sixty years, the most glorious and the most successful in the whole later history of the Roman Empire. The peculiar position thus occupied by the Isaurians is no doubt explained by the fact that these tameless mountaineers had in great measure

[1] Perhaps rather (as suggested by Mr. Brooks) 'a native of Rusumblada.'

[2] *τὴν προσηγορίαν προσκτησάμενον ἔκ τινος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐς μέγα κλέος ἐληλυθότος, οὕτω προσαγορευομένου* (Evagrius, ii. 15). According to Tillemont's probable conjecture this was Flavius Zeno, the Isaurian, Magister Militum in Oriente, and Consul in 448. (Compare vol. ii. pp. 90 and 94.)

preserved their freedom. They had not passed, like the wealthier inhabitants of the plains, between the mill-stones of the Byzantine despotism. Their country was the Switzerland of the Eastern Empire [1]. BOOK IV. CH. 2.

Circumstances of Zeno's accession.

From the ranks of the Isaurian adventurers who made their way to the capital the Emperor Leo, who needed all the support which he could obtain against the party of the domineering Aspar, selected Tarasicodissa, who was perhaps the best-born among them, and bestowed upon him in marriage his elder daughter Ariadne. At the death of Leo, his grandchild, the younger Leo, a child of seven years old, son of Zeno and Ariadne, already associated with his grandfather in the Empire and proclaimed consul for the year, succeeded without opposition to the throne. Naturally his reign would have implied for some years to come the regency of his parents; but, to make sure, Ariadne instructed her child, when his father came to make obeisance before him in the Hippodrome, to place on his head the imperial diadem. The precaution was a wise one, for in nine months the child-emperor died. The charge brought against Zeno by one writer, distant from the scene [2], of having procured the death of his own child, must be dismissed as unworthy of

3 Feb. 474.

9 Feb. 474.

Nov. 474.

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 2. 1, describes how the Isaurians were wont 'to throw all things into confusion by their sudden raids,' and how 'a long course of impunity gave boldness to their young men and encouraged them to engage in warlike operations of a more serious kind, being especially indignant because some of their comrades who were taken prisoners had been exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre of Iconium' (A.D. 353). The whole of the following section gives a graphic picture of the freebooting excursions of the Isaurians.

[2] Victor Tunnunensis.

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belief, since none of the Greek writers, not even those who canvass his actions the most bitterly, have dared to insinuate it.

Character of Zeno.

It cannot be said that the new Emperor did anything to justify his predecessor's selection of him as a son-in-law. He was quite incapable in the field, 'not only a coward but a wretch, an emperor who could not bear even the picture of a battle,' says one of our authorities[1]. This author proceeds to say that Zeno's only notion of conquest was by buying off his foes, for which purpose he laid upon his subordinates the duty of raising as much money as possible by exactions and confiscations. Another historian[2] gives a somewhat different account of the cause of Zeno's financial misgovernment. He says that this Emperor was not so cruel, passionate, or avaricious as his predecessor, but that he was ambitious and vain, with no real knowledge of affairs nor formed habits of business. He was thus exposed to endless peculation on the part of the officials of his exchequer, and at the same time squandered with lavish hand the carefully-hoarded treasures of his father-in-law among his greedy Isaurian friends. This incapacity for business, again, made him dependent on his underlings, especially on one Sebastian, who was Praetorian Prefect during a large part of his reign[3], and who possessed an extraordinary influence over his master. Like the eunuch Eutropius, ninety years before, Sebastian put

[1] Joannes Lydus; writing, it is true, about 550 or some sixty years after the death of Zeno, but all the less likely to have any personal prejudice against him.

[2] Malchus (ap. Müller, iv. 118).

[3] In 475, 480, and 484, and probably in most of the intervening years; Tillemont, vi. 478.

up offices and governments for sale as in a market, and suffered no business to be transacted in the palace upon which he did not levy his toll[1]. Some part of the gain of this unblushing traffic he graciously shared with the Emperor, but if the latter had bestowed an office on one of his own friends, the favourite would insist on buying it at a small price from the recipient, that he might re-sell it at a high figure to one of the attenders of his auction-mart.

Frequent rebellions against him.

An Emperor thus governing, of discreditable private character[2] and strengthened by no deep roots of ancestral claim to the loyalty of his subjects, was sure to find his right to rule challenged by usurpers; and in fact the history of the reign of Zeno is chiefly a history of the rebellions against him. The course of these rebellions is drearily similar. With a certain tenacity of purpose, which perhaps explains Leo's selection of him, Zeno generally succeeds in holding on to power. Some popular officer delivers him from the rival of the moment, and becomes for the time 'the man whom the king delighteth to honour.' Then he too falls under suspicion, the Emperor or Empress intrigues against his life; he is forced to make himself the mouthpiece of the popular discontent. Another

[1] We have in Malchus (p. 120) an interesting note of the tariff of prices at this time: 'The Governor of Egypt (Praefectus Augustalis?), who had previously obtained his commission for something under 50 lbs. of gold (£2,000), now had to pay 500 (£20,000) on account of the increased prosperity of the province.'

[2] Evagrius says (iii. 1) that Zeno, on becoming sole emperor, abandoned himself to every kind of unlawful and disgraceful pleasure, and that he scorned to practise any concealment of his vices, appearing to think that there was something grand and emperor-like in parading his immorality before the public.

rebellion and another deliverance by a champion who is doomed to experience the imperial ingratitude, and so the dismal round recommences. Add to the already enumerated causes of discontent the fires, never long smouldering in this reign, of religious bigotry, the incessant battle-cries, 'Nestorian,' 'Eutychian,' 'The Council of Chalcedon,' 'The Council of Nicaea;' add also the intrigues of Verina, the Emperor's mother-in-law, one of the most odious women who ever stepped inside the purple chamber at Constantinople, and the reader will have some idea of the events which formed the staple of the reign of Zeno.

Usurpation of Basiliscus, 475–477.

The rebellion of Basiliscus was the first of the series [1]. It was on the ninth day after his accession to the office of Consul, when Zeno was sitting in the Hippodrome presiding over the games, that he received a message from his mother-in-law desiring him to come to her with all speed. He obeyed, and when he reached her chamber, Verina informed him that the generals, the senate, the people, all were united in the resolution to depose him, and that his only safety was in flight. Without a struggle he appears to have given up the prize of empire, took with him his wife Ariadne and his mother Lallis, and such of the imperial treasures as he could pile upon his horses and mules, and stole away by night accompanied by many of his Isaurian fellow-countrymen. Still wearing the rich imperial robes in which he had presided in the Hippodrome, he crossed the Bosporus to Chalcedon, and was soon in the heart of Asia Minor. Thus did Basiliscus, Verina's brother, find himself at length in

[1] ii. 525.

possession of the diadem which he had coveted with an insane desire [1]. He associated his son Marcus with him in the empire, and in their joint names issued edicts for the regulation of Church affairs [2]. These edicts were to the utmost extent of his power in the interests of the Monophysite party, of which he, and still more his wife Zenonis [3], were fanatical adherents. Peter the Fuller was reinstated at Antioch, Timothy the Weasel at Alexandria. Everywhere the opponents of the decrees of Chalcedon began to take heart, and its adherents, except the dauntless Acacius of Constantinople, began to despond.

Harmatius.

But Basiliscus, raised to the throne by female influence and intrigue, was threatened by dangers from the same source. Verina had a lover, Patricius, upon whom, rather than upon Basiliscus, she had hoped that the choice of the insurgents would have fallen, but who was put to death by the new emperor. Zenonis, who was a woman of great beauty, had

[1] ii. 445.

[2] Compare the circular letters in Evagrius, iii. 4 and 7: 'The Emperor Caesar Basiliscus, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, and Marcus the most illustrious Caesar, to Timotheus (Solophaciolus) archbishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, most reverend and blessed of God.' In this circular he anathematises, not only Nestorius, but also 'the so-called *tome* of Leo [Pope Leo I], and all things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon' the Nicene symbol. Afterwards, evidently finding the influence of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, too strong for him, he published another circular, containing an abject withdrawal of the first, and anathematising not only Nestorius but also *Eutyches* (the Monophysite) and every other heresy.

[3] Was this lady a sister of Zeno? No allusion is made to any relationship between them.

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also a lover, the nephew of her husband, the handsome and effeminate Harmatius[1]. This man, who knew more about the palaestra and the hair-dresser's shop than about the art of war, was, by the influence of his paramour, promoted to the high office of Magister
476. Militum in Thrace. He also shared the honours of the consulship with Basiliscus. Puffed up with wealth and official importance, he began to imagine himself a great soldier, and rode about the streets of the capital, aping in arms and accoutrements the great Achilles. The populace followed him with their acclamations, and called him the new Pyrrhus, in allusion to his fresh pink-coloured complexion. But many doubtless thought, what the historian could safely write, that the new hero was more like Paris than Pyrrhus[2].

Zeno in his exile.

Meanwhile the dethroned Emperor Zeno had betaken himself to his native Isauria, and there maintained a feeble resistance to his rival. In the course of his wanderings he came to a castle situated upon a hill, and enquired the name of this place of refuge. When told that it was called (by a curious chance) Constantinople, he gave a deep sigh and said, 'Verily man is God's plaything. The prophets foretold that the month of July should see me lodged in Constantinople, and so indeed I am, in this little hill-side fort of a Constantinople, instead

[1] His name is spelt by Suidas both Harmatus and Harmatius. He is called by the chroniclers (who are extremely loose in their use and disuse of the aspirate) *Armatus*.

[2] This curious little tirade against Harmatius, preserved by Suidas, is believed by Niebuhr to be from the pen of Malchus (see remarks in Müller, iv. 117).

of in my royal city.' Brighter days, however, were at hand for the fugitive as the second July of his exile drew near. Illus and Trocundus [1], the generals of Basiliscus who had been for some time besieging him, perhaps in the mountain fortress just referred to, changed sides and openly espoused his cause. The money and the promises of Zeno had no doubt some share in producing this result; but they had some excuse for their defection in the fact that letters had been received from the Senate at Constantinople informing the generals that the profligacy and folly of Basiliscus had become absolutely unbearable, and inviting them to aid in his deposition. In fact, what with political discontent and what with theological strife, the capital was almost in a state of revolution. Acacius had draped the altar and the clergy in black. Daniel, the greatest of the Stylite saints, had descended from his column to harangue and muster the people. A vast multitude of men, women, and children had assembled at the gates of the cathedral to protest against the heretical doings of the Emperor. There was a talk of burning down the city, from which Basiliscus withdrew in terror, but Daniel and the monk Olympius followed him to his retreat, and forced him to listen to their passionate invectives [2].

Return of Zeno.

Liberated from his long blockade and strengthened by his new allies, Zeno now set forth for the capital. Basiliscus sent Harmatius to meet the foe,

[1] Mr. Brooks, following Joannes Antiochenus, calls this general Trocound*es*. Theophanes and Marcellinus give the termination -os and -us. Victor Tunnunensis calls him Tricundius.

[2] Theodorus Lector, i. 32, 33, p. 182, ed. Migne.

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having first exacted from him, possibly on account of some rumours of his doubtful loyalty, an oath 'by his holy baptism[1]' that he would not betray him. Harmatius took with him not only the troops which ordinarily followed the standard of the Magister Militum in Thrace, but also a levy, probably a hasty levy, from the citizens of Constantinople[2]. This fact, together with the statement that a terrible massacre of Isaurians took place at the time of the expulsion of Zeno[3], seems to indicate that the animosity against the Asiatic highlanders was especially bitter among the mob of the capital.

Treachery of Harmatius.

However, neither his baptismal oath nor the rancour of his civic followers availed to keep Harmatius from entering into a transaction with the dethroned emperor, his willingness for which was doubtless increased by the consciousness of danger from the discovery of his intrigue with Zenonis. He advanced to Nicaea, where Zeno and the two generals were quartered. Great terror was at first caused in the Isaurian army by his approach. Zeno was on the point of retreating, but Illus undertook and accomplished the delicate task of detaching Harmatius from his fidelity to his uncle. The terms were high: the rank of Magister Militum Praesentalis (commander of the household troops, ranking above the other Magister Militum) for life, and the dignity of Caesar

[1] Ὁρκίσας αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα μὴ προδοῦναι (Theoph. A.M. 5969). Does this adjuration explain the process by which the term *sacramentum* obtained its ecclesiastical signification?

[2] We have only the somewhat doubtful authority of Theophanes for this statement: Μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

[3] Candidus the Isaurian (ap. Müller, iv. 136).

for his son Basiliscus, which assured to that son the succession to the empire on Zeno's death[1]. The bargain being concluded, the two armies, now united, marched against Constantinople.

Basiliscus takes refuge at St. Sophia's.

Basiliscus, when he heard that his rival was accepted as lawful emperor by the senate, the people, and even by the arch-intriguer Verina, saw that the game was hopeless, and took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, to which he had betaken himself nine years before on the failure of the Carthaginian expedition[2]. Leaving his crown on the holy table, as a sign that he renounced the sovereignty, he passed on with his wife and children into the baptistery, and there sought for shelter. Not even in the hour of her downfall can the ecclesiastical chroniclers forbear to triumph over the heretical Empress[3], thus compelled to seek the shelter of the Church whose power she had dared to cope with. The patriarch Acacius came and upbraided the fallen Emperor with the impious innovations which he, the Eutychian, had sought to introduce into the Christian Church. According to Procopius[4] he actually delivered the suppliant into the hands of his rival; but this is so contrary to the character of the man and to the religious instincts of the age, that we may safely reject such a story. Doubtless Acacius was a powerful agent, probably the most powerful in

[1] Zeno's own son Zeno, the offspring of his first marriage, a youth of insufferable arrogance and viciousness, whose character was ruined by the flatteries of courtiers, died miserably in consequence of his excesses, probably before his father's banishment (Malchus, p. 118).

[2] Vol. ii. p. 449.

[3] Τῇ κακοδόξῳ αὐτοῦ γυναικί (Theoph. A.M. 5969).

[4] De Bello Vandalico, i. 7.

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the counter-revolution which hurled Basiliscus from his throne. Probably also he was the medium of the negotiations which resulted in the fugitive's surrender of himself to his rival; but this is a different matter from the accusation that with his own hands he delivered him over, a suppliant at the Church's altar, to his enemy.

Fate of Basiliscus.

'The most religious emperor Zeno,' says the Paschal Chronicle, 'then gave orders that the curtain should be drawn over the amphitheatre. He mounted to his seat, exhibited the games of the circus to the citizens, and received their acclamations. Then he sent to the Great Church, stripped all the emblems of imperial dignity from the fallen Emperor, his wife and children, and induced them to come forth by a promise "that their heads should be safe[1]." Zeno then sent him away and those with him to the camp of Limnae[2] in Cappadocia. And they were thrust into one tower of the camp, and the gate was built up, and the tower and the camp itself were guarded by soldiers and by a great multitude of Isaurians. And thus Basiliscus himself and his wife and children, perishing by hunger, gave up their lives and were buried in the same tower of Limnae.'

Procopius and some other historians[3] say that the banishment was in the depth of winter, that the unhappy exiles were insufficiently supplied with clothing

[1] Candidus (Müller, iv. 136) makes Harmatius the deceiver of Basiliscus in this negotiation for his surrender.

[2] Situation not identified. According to others, Cucusus, the scene of Chrysostom's exile (Theophanes), or Sasemac (?) (Vict. Tunnun.). Certainly in Cappadocia, and probably some place high up on the sides of Anti-Taurus.

[3] Anonymus Valesii and Jordanes.

as well as food, and that cold worked together with hunger for their destruction. Thus was Dante's terrible story of Ugolino and his children in the *Torre del Fame* anticipated by eight hundred years. That deed of horror and of perfidy was perpetrated by an archbishop[1], this by an emperor, whom, in the very act of describing his wickedness, the chronicler terms 'most religious[2],' because he was not tainted with the heresy either of Nestorius or of Eutyches.

Death of Harmatius.

Thus had Harmatius surrendered his uncle and his paramour to a death of horror. He had not long to wait for his reward, in either sense. He received the post of *Magister Praesentalis*, his son was proclaimed Caesar, had a royal seat prepared for him by the side of the Emperor, and joined in distributing the prizes to the charioteers. Soon, however, Zeno began to reflect that a man who had displayed so much perfidy to his kinsman and benefactor, and had violated his solemn baptismal oath, was not likely to serve *him* more faithfully, when his son, the young Caesar, should have grown to manhood. He argued with himself that he had kept all his promises to his deliverer. *Magister Praesentalis* he was now, and that for life, but he had said nothing as to how long he was to live. His son had been declared Caesar, and, having once worn the imperial purple, should now be dignified with an office in the Church. The Emperor therefore gave orders that 'Harmatius the perjurer' should be slain. It was evidently no judicial sentence that was passed, but an order for a private

[1] Ruggieri (Inferno, xxxiii. 14). Here too there was the element of a promise violated in its spirit.

[2] Ὁ δὲ θειότατος Ζήνων (Chron. Pasch. 835, ed. Migne).

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assassination that was given. An agent for the bloody deed was soon found. Onoulf, son of Edica and brother of king Odovacar, was still in the imperial service. He had received much kindness from Harmatius when he came a poor barbarian to the capital of the East. His patron had procured for him the dignity of Count, then that of Prefect of Illyricum, and had made him handsome presents of money to enable him to give the banquets which his rank rendered necessary. At Zeno's order Onoulf laid wait for his patron at a palace ten miles from Constantinople, and stabbed him in the back when he was mounting a spiral staircase to the Hippodrome[1]. The fickle populace, who had forgotten the shouts of admiration with which they once hailed the rubicund 'Pyrrhus,' as he dashed in brilliant armour along the streets, now applauded his death; and remembering the cruel manner in which he, in conjunction with the Gothic *foederati*, had punished an insurrection in Thrace during the reign of Leo, cutting off the hands of the peasants who were accomplices therein, they now rejoiced with rapture that one so arrogant and so hard-hearted had at last met with his deserts. The young Basiliscus, son of Harmatius, after his brief dream of Caesarship, was installed as *Lector* in the church of Blachernae, and appears before his death to have reached the dignity of bishop of the important city of Cyzicus, the metropolis of the Hellespontine diocese.

[1] The Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes both record the death of Harmatius and the curious casuistry by which Zeno convinced himself that he was breaking no promise. They do not mention Onoulf, by whom Malchus (in Suidas) says that Harmatius was slain. Candidus (a friend to Zeno) says that Harmatius was cut to pieces (ἐκρεουργήθη).

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Revolt of Marcian, 479.

The next revolt against Zeno was of a different kind, and one which illustrates the peculiar ideas about hereditary succession which were introducing themselves into the originally elective sovereignty of the Empire. These ideas had assumed a somewhat different shape since Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II, had, by the bestowal of her hand, raised Marcian to the throne and thus familiarised the Romans with the idea of a hereditary right to the purple conveyed through females. The Marcian who now, by assuming the diadem, gave a rallying-point for all the unsubdued discontent with Zeno and his Isaurians, was, on his mother's side, grandson of that Emperor Marcian. He was also son of an Emperor—of that Anthemius sovereign of the West whom Sidonius saw riding through the streets of Rome side by side with Ricimer[1]. Yet upon neither of these relationships did he found his pretensions to the throne. He had married Leontia, the youngest daughter of the Emperor Leo, and set up the claim so often heard of in Eastern, and sometimes in Western, monarchies, that his wife, as being *Porphyrogenita*, born after her father had attained to supreme power, was of higher dignity than her elder sister Ariadne, born while Leo was still a private person serving in the household of Aspar. Marcian raised troops and attacked the palace of his brother-in-law. A bloody battle took place; the two brothers of Marcian, Procopius[2] and Romulus, brought up supports at a seasonable moment; the palace and the diadem were almost won. But,

450.

[1] See the genealogies, vol. ii. pp. 461 and 491.

[2] It will be remembered that Procopius was a favourite name in the family of Anthemius.

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inheriting the slack and indolent disposition of his father, Marcian betook himself to the banquet and the couch, let slip the golden opportunity, and adjourned till the morrow the victory which never came[1]. For during the night Illus, the general of Zeno, who was now holding the high rank of *Magister Officiorum*, brought a large number of Isaurians across the straits from Chalcedon in market boats, the regular transports having been seized by the rebels. He also practised with his bribes so successfully on the fidelity of the insurgent troops, that, when morning dawned, Marcian found himself forsaken by most of his followers, and far from capturing the palace was forced himself to flee to the Church of the Apostles[2]. Hence he was dragged away, and sent, like all the enemies of Zeno, into captivity in the recesses of Asia Minor.

[1] Evagrius (iii. 26), or more probably Eustathius (who wrote 'very elegantly'), quoted by Evagrius, has some poetical remarks here about the critical nature of Opportunity, symbolised by a figure bald behind but with one lock in front, by which it may be grasped and held fast. The thought is precisely that of Shakespeare, 'There is a tide in the affairs of men,' &c.

[2] The above account is chiefly founded on Eustathius. Joannes Antiochenus adds some details which would be interesting if they could be illustrated by an archaeologist versed in Byzantine topography. The insurgents encamp near the house of Caesarius: from thence they divide their forces, one brother operating against Zeno in the palace, the other against Illus in the gardens (?) of Varanes (*ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Οὐαράνου*). In the middle of the day, while the imperial troops are indulging in their noontide repose, the former directs his attack against 'the porch of Delphax, in which stand the Delphic columns painted in various colours.' Busalbus, perhaps Magister Militum Praesentalium (*ἡγούμενος στρατιωτικοῦ τάγματος*), and Nicetas co-operated with Marcian. So too, according to Joannes, did Theodoric the son of Triarius, but this, as we shall see in the next chapter, is not exactly correct.

He became a monk; he escaped; he attempted another abortive insurrection. Hereupon, if not after his first downfall, he was ordained a presbyter; and henceforth Marcian, with his wife Leontia, who had escaped to the convent of 'The Sleepless Ones,' disappears from history[1]. It is clear that Zeno recognised, in the feeble character of his brother-in-law, less danger to his throne than from other claimants of less noble birth. Procopius and Romulus, the brothers of Marcian, were caught in Constantinople while bathing in the baths of Zeuxippus. They escaped, however, from their captivity, fled to the camp of the Gothic general, who, as we shall find in the next chapter, steadfastly refused to surrender them to their enemies, and finally made their way to Rome, where these sons and grandsons of emperors disappear into the undistinguishable crowd.

Services of Illus. Conspiracies against his life.

The last of the insurgents against the authority of Zeno was also the best and the noblest of his foes, his countryman Illus the Isaurian. Sent with his brother Trocundus by Basiliscus to conduct the campaign in the Asiatic highlands against the fugitive Emperor, he had, as we have already seen, not only gone over himself to Zeno's side, but had been the broker through whose mediation the similar defection of Harmatius and the consequent ruin of the cause of Basiliscus had been secured. Such important services should have earned the life-long gratitude of the restored Emperor; but for some reason the ladies of the imperial family pursued him with unrelenting hatred. Three times was his life in danger through their machinations.

[1] Except that, as we shall see, Illus at one time entertained the thought of proclaiming him emperor.

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477. Before a year had elapsed from Zeno's return, Paulus, a slave in the imperial household, was detected, sword in hand, watching for a favourable moment to slay the general. The Emperor abandoned the slave to the just resentment of Illus, upon whom next year was bestowed the dignity of Consul. While he was busied with the restoration of the Royal Porch, a magnificent work probably, which was to have commemorated his year of office, another assassin, this time a barbarian of Alan race, was found in his apartments, again with a naked sword in his hand. The murderer, being put to the torture, confessed that Epinicus the Phrygian, who, by the favour of the Empress-mother, had risen from an obscure position to the successive dignities of *Comes Privatarum Rerum*, *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, and *Praefectus Praetorio*, had hired him for the bloody deed. Again was a victim sacrificed to propitiate the anger of Illus. The Praetorian Prefect, stripped of all his honours and wealth, was handed over to the man whose death he had compassed, but who generously spared his life, and was satisfied with banishing him to his own native Isauria. Visiting him there not long after, Illus learned from the ex-prefect's lips that he in turn had been stimulated to the deed of blood by the arch-intriguer, the Empress-mother, Verina.

478.

Recall of Illus and banishment of Verina.

For the time Illus held his peace, and remained in honourable and self-sought exile from the court. Before long, however, he was recalled[1] by his master,

[1] Joannes Antiochenus (our chief authority here) couples this recall of Illus with some catastrophe—perhaps a riot—following on the earthquake at Constantinople. His meaning is not clear. We dare not connect this statement with the entry in the

who, with all the ranks of the military and civil hierarchy, crossed the Bosporus and came more than six miles along the road from Chalcedon to welcome the returning general. Immediately, perhaps before he would even enter the capital, Illus disclosed to the Emperor the intrigues of Verina against his life, and declared that he could never be in safety so long as that woman remained in Constantinople. Zeno, who knew that he too was never safe from the conspiracies of his mother-in-law, abandoned her without reluctance to his general. She was sent off under the care of the brother-in-law of Illus with a large retinue to Isauria, compelled to take the veil in the cathedral of Tarsus [1], and then shut up in the fortress of Dalisandus. Epinicus, in return for his information, was, at the request of Illus, received again into the imperial favour, perhaps restored to his old office.

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Among the followers of Illus who accompanied him into the capital on that day of his triumph none probably attracted more attention than the Egyptian grammarian, poet, and philosopher, Pamprepius. Rich gifts of intellect were hidden under the unprepossessing countenance of this dark Egyptian, who was possibly a full-blooded negro. His poetical attainments in his native country (perhaps acquired in emulation of his

Pamprepius the friend of Illus.

Chronicle of Marcellinus, 'Urbs regia per xl continuos dies assiduo terrae motu quassata, magnopere sese afflicta deplanxit,' &c., since that belongs to the year 480, and the return of Illus must be put before 479.

[1] This must, I presume, be the meaning of the words of Joannes, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ταρσὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθιεροῖ. Dalisandus, like some other places mentioned in the record of these transactions, must remain a mere name, the geography of this part of Asia having received but little attention from scholars.

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compatriot Claudian) were rewarded by the chair of Grammar in the University of Athens. Here too he studied philosophy under the mighty mystic, Proclus, the last, and some say the greatest, of the Neo-Platonists; and, in the judgment of all Athens, Pamprepius ranked pre-eminently the first among the great master's pupils. Having left Athens in consequence of an insult received from one of the local magistracy, who was himself a dilettante philosopher, Pamprepius came to Byzantium and attached himself to the fortunes of Illus, which he powerfully influenced both for good and for evil. There was certainly a strain of nobility in the character of the patron. 'Illus,' says his fellow countryman Candidus, 'conferred many benefits on the Roman state, by his brave deeds in war and by his generosity and righteous dealing in the city[1].' There was also a vein of literary pursuit in him, such as we should by no means have looked for in an Isaurian highlander. When first introduced to the general, Pamprepius recited, with much grace of delivery, a long-meditated discourse, probably in the Platonic or Proclean style, on the nature of the soul. Illus was charmed with what he heard, proclaimed the swarthy Egyptian wisest of all the professors in Constantinople, and arranged that he should be engaged at a large salary, paid by the State, to teach the choicest spirits among the young men who resorted to the 'Museums,' or, as we should call them, the colleges, of the capital. At the time when we behold him about to re-cross the Bosporus in the train of his

[1] Candid. ap. Muller, iv. 136. Ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν φιλοτιμίαις probably refers to such deeds as the restoration of the Stoa Basilicé, which signalised his consulship.

triumphant patron, Pamprepius has reached a higher elevation. He is now Quaestor, belongs therefore to the awful innermost circle of the Illustres, endorses the petitions of the subjects, directs them to the proper office which has to take them into consideration, and prepares the stilted sentences in which Tarasicodissa-Zeno may clothe his meagre thoughts when replying to supplications or promulgating laws [1].

Pamprepius a heathen.

But there was a worm at the root of this amazing good fortune of the Egyptian, although for the present all went well with him [2]. Like his master Proclus, he was a *Greek*, or, as we should call it, a heathen in his creed; and made no secret of his Hellenic faith, even in Christian Constantinople itself. The avowed heathenism drew after it the imputation of darker practices, and of a knowledge of the future obtained by unhallowed arts, an imputation to which the windy theosophy of the Neo-Platonist not unnaturally exposed him, and which Pamprepius himself, by mysterious and enigmatical utterances, which could be claimed as prophecies if they turned out true, seems to have intentionally fostered [3]. It would be going

[1] Notitia Orientis, cap. xi: 'Sub dispositione Viri Illustris Quaestoris: Leges dictandae,
Preces,
Officium non habet, sed adjutores de scriniis quos voluerit.' These adjutores were themselves *spectabiles*.

[2] Τῷ δὲ Παμπρεπίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν πάσῃ εὐροίᾳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, τιμηθέντι καὶ τῇ τοῦ κοαίστορος ἀξίᾳ (Joan. Antioch. fr. 211).

[3] For information as to the life and character of Pamprepius consult the Biographical Dictionaries of Suidas and of Dr. W. Smith. In the latter the somewhat crude and incoherent statements given in the former are sifted and arranged. The article 'Illus' in the same Dictionary is also particularly copius and helpful. Both articles are by J. C. Means. The philosophical careers of

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too far to attribute either to Illus or his client an attempt at the hopeless task of the restoration of heathenism: but it is probable that the general as well as the philosopher may have shown a deeper interest in the Dialogues of Plato than in the endless theological squabbles of Timothy the Weasel and Timothy Solofaciolus, and that his popularity with the mob of Constantinople may have suffered accordingly.

Illus remains loyal during Marcian's insurrection.

The insurrection of Marcian, which followed shortly after these events, was partly caused, according to the representations of the rebels, by the harsh treatment of the widow of Leo [1]. Certainly Illus was bound to keep his master harmless from the consequences of a severity which he had himself insisted upon: yet he seems to have wavered for a moment. In his perplexity he turned to the dark Egyptian for counsel. The voice of Pamprepius was in favour of loyalty, and presaged the victory of Zeno. 'Providence is on our side,' he said oracularly; and when, notwithstanding the first successes of Marcian, his standard was eventually lowered, men looked with yet heightened reverence on the prophetic powers of the Neo-Platonist professor.

Third attempt on the life of Illus, 482?

To Zeno's triumph on this occasion the valour and the skill of Illus, as we have seen, largely contributed. But if the Emperor prized his services, the Empress could not forget her mother's wrongs. Ariadne on this occasion belied the fair and honourable character

Pamprepius and his great teacher Proclus are well brought out by Herzberg (Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer, iii. 510–513).

[1] Διὰ τὴν πρόφασιν Βηρίνης (Joan. Antioch. fr. 211).

which, as far as we can judge, she generally bore in a dark and troublous time. When the Master of the Offices (for this was the dignity now held by Illus) was mounting the stairs to view the races in the Hippodrome, a life-guardsman [1] named Spanicius, hired by Ariadne for the purpose, drew his sword and endeavoured to cut off his head. The armour-bearer of Illus interposed and struck up the assassin's hand, but the escape was so narrow that the right ear of the intended victim was actually severed, and he ever after wore a skull-cap when he appeared in public [2].

Quarrel about Longinus.

It was vain to ask this time for the surrender of the instigator of the crime, and probably from henceforward it was only a question of time how soon Illus should revolt. But, according to our chief authority [3], the Emperor began the quarrel by insisting on the liberation of his brother Longinus. This person, whose previous history is almost hopelessly obscure, had been for ten years kept a close prisoner by Illus at a castle in Isauria. So strange a predicament for the brother of a reigning Emperor is perhaps explained by the private character of Longinus, which was detestably immoral. He may have inflicted on the general some wrong which in one less powerfully protected would

[1] Scholarius (Theophanes): 'Illus dignitate Magister Officiorum amputata apud Comitatum auricula' (Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 484). Malalas calls the assassin Sporacius.

[2] Quaere the date of this third attempted assassination. Theophanes describes it at A. D. 480, but his chronology is extremely loose. Marcellinus puts it apparently in, but really before, 484. Probably it was in 482 or 483.

[3] Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214. For a somewhat different arrangement of the obscure events connected with the revolt of Illus, see Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, i. 256.

BOOK IV. CH. 2. have called for the punishment of death, a punishment which even in his case could be commuted for nothing less than life-long imprisonment. It would seem, however, that the Emperor's request was granted, and that both Longinus and the mother of Zeno arrived in Constantinople, having been voluntarily released by Illus [1].

Illus disgraced. The Emperor next proceeded to strip Illus of his military command, which he bestowed on one of the barbarian *foederati*, John the Goth. He then made a harangue to the people of Constantinople—there are some indications that Zeno was vain of his oratorical powers—setting forth his grievances against Illus, and ordering that all his relations and dependents should be banished from Constantinople. The possessions of these men the Emperor, ever thinking of his highland home, distributed among the cities of Isauria.

Revolt of Illus, 484. Illus, thus driven to open revolt, withdrew into his native Taurus-country and endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances. The kings of Armenia and Persia promised help if he would effect a junction of his forces with theirs. Odovacar, 'the tyrant of Western Rome [2],' was also appealed to, but for the present declined to join the confederacy, though two
486. years later he showed symptoms, or Zeno thought that he showed symptoms, of a willingness to favour the cause of Illus. The insurgent general seems to have

[1] Theophanes, who relates this circumstance, connects it with the events of the year 483, but attributes the liberation to Illus *and Leontius*, which looks as if it was later that 484. But I despair of introducing coherence or probability into the story of Zeno's Isaurian relatives.

[2] Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214: *καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὀδόακρον ἔστελλε, τὸν τῆς ἑσπερίας Ῥώμης τύραννον.*

at first proclaimed Marcian[1] Emperor, but the attempt to conjure with this name proving fruitless, he next sought out his former persecutor Verina in her exile. Their common hostility to Zeno brought these two old antagonists together. Verina, arrayed in imperial robes, was announced as the lawful disposer of the diadem, and mounting a high platform, in the Church of St. Peter at Tarsus[2], proceeded to invest with the insignia of empire a certain citizen of Dalisandus of obscure parentage, named Leontius, whom Illus had selected for the dangerous honour. Leontius nominated the high officers of the household and the state, distributed money to the people, and established his court at Antioch, which had not, apparently, been the residence of an Augustus since the days of Valens.

Leontius proclaimed.

Zeno, whose position was somewhat insecure, made for himself strange alliances with ecclesiastics and barbarians. He persuaded his fellow-countryman Conon, bishop of Apamea in Syria, to leave his episcopal throne and don the armour of a legionary. At the same time he bestowed the chief command in Isauria on Linges, the bastard brother of Conon, a man of high courage, and probably of great local influence. Of the share which the Goths under Theodoric and the wild Rugians from beyond the Danube took in this war as soldiers of Zeno it will be convenient to speak in the following chapter. After Leontius for little more than two months had possessed the semblance of sovereignty his fortunes began

The revolt does not prosper.

[1] So says Joannes (τότε Μαρκιανὸν ἀναζώννυσι), but it is not easy to reconcile this with other accounts of the life of Marcian after the failure of his revolt.

[2] Malalas, p. 388 (ed. Bonn).

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to decline. Illus, who had been worsted in the field, sent his wife, and provisions for a siege, to the fortress of Cherreus. These precautions, and the messages he sent to Leontius and Verina to quit Antioch and come to him with all speed, produced a discouraging effect on his army. The officers dispersed to seek shelter in friendly fortresses, while many of the more obscure abettors of the rebellion took refuge in the caves with which that part of Asia Minor abounds.

Blockade of the fort of Papirius.

The castle of Cherreus also bore the name of its builder Papirius, apparently a kind of robber chieftain who had occupied it as a feudal baron occupied his turrets by the Rhine, in order to levy toll on passers-by and to keep his rustic neighbours in terrified subjection. Papirius was apparently now dead, but his son Indacus, a man of great courage and physical strength, who fought with his left hand and as a runner outstripped the fleetest horsemen, still held the castle and was faithful to the cause of Illus[1]. Here had Marcian been imprisoned, and here Verina[2].

Death of Verina.

Hither did the empress-mother now return, a fugitive though no longer a captive. The fatigues and anxieties of the last few months had been too much

[1] For Indacus (surnamed Cottunes) and his father Papirius see Joann. Antioch. fr. 206. 2 (combined with 214. 6), and Suidas, s. v. Indacus. Suidas says that he surpassed the greatest runners of antiquity in speed, that he would suddenly vanish from the high road, and be seen like a bird skimming over the most craggy and inaccessible precipices, that he would accomplish in one day, on foot, journeys which the fleetest horseman could not have performed, and so on.

[2] Theodorus Lector, i. 37, ii. 3. Verina was perhaps removed from Dalisandus to Papirium.

for her strength, and on the ninth day after she reached the castle her turbulent and intriguing life came to an end. She was embalmed and placed in a leaden coffin, with the hope doubtless that one day a tomb befitting her dignity might be found for her beside the Bosporus [1]. After thirty days died Marsus, a faithful friend of Illus, and he by whose intervention Pamprepius was first introduced to him. The castle was strong and provisioned for a long siege, and Illus, after entrusting the details of the daily defence to Indacus, shut himself up in his library and devoted his now abundant leisure to the study of his beloved manuscripts. Leontius took the turn in his fortunes less philosophically. He macerated himself with fastings, and passed his days in unmanly lamentations. BOOK IV. CH. 2.

Illus and Leontius slain.

After the siege had lasted two years, the hopes of Illus and Leontius growing ever fainter, the besiegers, under the command of John the Goth, obtained possession of a fort on an opposite hill which in some degree commanded the castle, and plied their engines with great effect [2]. The besieged called for a parley, 486. and by the mediation of the Goth sent to the Emperor at Constantinople a letter reminding him of their past services and praying for forgiveness. The appeal, however, was ineffectual [3], and the siege dragged on for two years longer. At length, at the

[1] Βηρίνα δὲ μετ' ἐνάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἐν φρουρίῳ καταφυγῆς παρεθεῖσα (conj. παραλυθεῖσα) ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐν μολιβδίνῃ ἐταριχεύθη λάρνακι (Joan. Ant. fr. 214. 6).

[2] Μετὰ τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν τοῦ ἀντιφρουρίου πολλοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐχρῶντο.

[3] The MS. of Joannes Antiochenus here breaks off abruptly. We have to trust to imagination for the completion of the sentence and to go to Theodorus Lector for the end of the siege.

BOOK IV. CH. 2. 488. end of four years, treachery accomplished what fair fighting could not achieve. The wife of Trocundus, the brother of Illus, privately communicated to the Emperor her willingness to betray her relative. She was sent for this purpose from Constantinople, probably with a delusive offer of pardon, entered the fortress, and succeeded in opening its gates to the imperial troops. Illus and Leontius were slain, and their heads were cut off and sent to the Emperor. Pampreplus was slain with them. All through the four years of siege he had fed his associates with hopes of ultimate triumph; and it is said that when they found that his prophecies were about to turn out false they themselves in their disappointment cut him to pieces. The authorities for this story are not of the highest class[1]. One would gladly disbelieve a history so inconsistent with the character of the brave philosopher-soldier Illus.

Zeno pries into the future.

No further rebellion disturbed the reign of Zeno. His brother, the shameless profligate Longinus, was now all powerful. He had held the office of Consul in 486 and again in 490; he was the head of the Isaurian faction in the capital, and he doubtless intended to
490. wear the diadem after his brother. The health of the Emperor was now visibly declining, and he was filled with a restless desire to know how it would fare with his family and his beloved Isaurians after his death. With this view he consulted Maurianus the Count, 'a very learned man, who was acquainted with certain

[1] Theophanes, A. M. 5976, and Damascius the philosopher (in the Life of Isidorus). The latter is a contemporary authority, but we have his work only in the somewhat obscure and one-sided report of it by Photius (Bibliotheca, Cod. 242).

mystic rites and had predicted many future events[1],' and asked to be informed of the name of his successor on the throne. The answer was ambiguous: 'Your successors shall be your wife and one who has served as Silentiarius'—that title being given to the guard of honour, thirty in number, who watched in the purple chamber. On hearing this Zeno at once ordered the arrest of a certain Pelagius, formerly a Silentiarius but now a Patrician, and an eminent statesman, who seemed to him the most likely person to be thus indicated. Moreover, Pelagius, who was a man of high character and some literary fame (he had written in verse a history of the Empire from the time of Augustus), had dared to rebuke the misgovernment of Zeno and to oppose earnestly his project of declaring his fatuous brother Caesar[2]. His property was ordered to be confiscated, and soon after he was strangled by his gaolers[3]. When the Praetorian Prefect Arcadius[4] heard of this act of iniquity he rebuked Zeno for it with a freedom worthy of better times. Upon this the Emperor ordered Arcadius also to be killed the first time that he should set foot within the palace, but the Prefect, receiving a hint of his danger, 'turned aside as if casually to pray in the Great Church [St. Sophia], claimed the right of asylum there, and so escaped bitter death[5].'

[1] Paschal Chronicle. (A late authority, but the death of Pelagius is confirmed by the contemporary testimony of Marcellinus.)

[2] Cedrenus, i. 621 (ed. Bonn).

[3] *Excubitores.* (Comes Marcellinus says that Pelagius was strangled 'in insula quae Panormum dicitur' (?).)

[4] It is possible that this faithful counsellor was really the Emperor's brother-in-law, as Zeno's first wife was named Arcadia.

[5] Paschal Chronicle.

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491. Death of Zeno. Anastasius succeeds.

Next year (April 10, 491)[1] the life of the wretched and suspicious tyrant was ended by an epileptic seizure. The prophecy of Count Maurianus came true. The Empress Ariadne was requested to bestow the diadem where she would, and she bestowed it, and her hand, on Anastasius, a native of Dyrrhachium, past the prime of life, not yet even a senator, but one of the *schola* of Silentiarii.

Troubles from the Isaurian faction, cowed but not crushed by the elevation of Anastasius, broke out both in Constantinople and in their native province. In the capital the statues of the new Emperor were thrown down, and fire was thrown into the Hippodrome, by which the adjoining arcades were consumed. This rebellion seems to have been partly caused by the oppressive conduct of an unpopular Prefect, whom Anastasius wisely dismissed from office, but as it was thought that the disaffected Isaurians had also something to do with it, an order went forth for their banishment from the city. They lingered, and stronger measures had to be taken. Longinus, the late Emperor's brother, was compelled to enter the priesthood[2] and was banished to the Egyptian Thebaid[3], where, after eight years, he perished of hunger. His wife and daughter, together with his

[1] On the Wednesday before Easter (Zach. Myt. 7. 1). I give the reference and the consequent correction (from April 9 to 10) on the authority of Mr. Brooks (p. 231).

[2] This detail is given by Theophanes. The rest of this paragraph is written on the authority of Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214b (ap. Müller, v. 30).

[3] So the words of Joan. Ant., Λογγῖνος κατὰ τὴν Θηβαίων ἀφορίζεται χώραν, are generally understood, no doubt rightly, though they might apply to the Boeotian Thebes.

mother Lallis (who had been for more than fourteen years mother of a reigning Emperor), took up their abode at a little oratory on the Bithynian shore[1], where, at any rate for the remainder of the elder lady's life, they subsisted on the alms of the charitable. The property of Zeno was confiscated, and even his imperial robes were sold for the benefit of the treasury.

Meanwhile the people of Isauria, reinforced by the numerous unwilling emigrants from Constantinople, went into open rebellion. The leaders of the movement were a former Master of the Offices, named Longinus of Cardama, the militant Bishop Conon, and a certain Athenodorus, who appears to have held the chief command. Towards the end of 492 the insurgents were routed by the Imperial Army at Cotyaeum in Phrygia. The insurrection however seems to have been but a local affair, for the rebels apparently never pushed their incursions further than into Phrygia; but the Emperor, who had confided the conduct of the war to two generals of the same name, John the Goth and John the Hunchback, was accused by his critics of feebleness and faint-heartedness in its prosecution. After five years of it he grew weary, and secretly confided to Euphemius, Patriarch of Constantinople, that he would gladly see it at an end. As the Isaurians, with all their savageness, were orthodox Chalcedonian Christians, and Anastasius was not, Euphemius leaned somewhat towards the side of the rebels, and most improperly repeated what had been said to him to yet another John, the Patrician, father-in-law of the insurgent general Athenodorus. The Patrician hastened to Anastasius,

[1] Named Brocthi.

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expecting to be made the instrument of a negotiation, but found the Emperor, instead thereof, highly indignant at this betrayal of his confidence. Next year (498), prosecuting the war in a bolder and more imperial way, he obtained a complete victory over his enemies. Athenodorus and Longinus were taken prisoners and beheaded. Their heads, sent by John the Goth to Constantinople, were fixed high on poles and exhibited at Sycae opposite the city, 'a sweet sight to the Byzantines,' says a historian, 'in return for the evils which they had endured from Zeno and the Isaurians.' When the overthrow of the rebel cause was certain, Anastasius sent his Master of the Offices[1] to the Patriarch with the insulting message, 'Your prayers, O great man! have covered your friends with soot[2].'

Tribute of 'Isaurica.'

The remembrance of this Isaurian rebellion was maintained by a tribute called 'Isaurica,' which was thenceforward collected (probably from the malcontent province) for the imperial treasury; and we are told that from this tax, amounting to £200,000 annually, were paid the subsidies to the barbarian *foederati*[3].

[1] Evagrius.

[2] The authorities for the Isaurian rebellion are—

(1) Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 492–498;
(2) Theodorus Lector, ii. 9. 10;
(3) Evagrius (perhaps quoting Eustathius), iii. 29. 35.
(4) Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214 b.

Probably the Theodorus of Evagrius is the same as the Athenodorus of Marcellinus and Theodorus Lector. Another Longinus, also an Isaurian, surnamed 'the Selinuntian,' was taken prisoner in 482 (Marc.) by John Hunchback and sent in chains to Constantinople, where he was led in triumph through the streets (Evagrius, iii. 35).

[3] Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ καλούμενα πρώην Ἰσαυρικὰ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἐνηνέχθη

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Zeno's Henoticon.

In the sketch which has been given of the reign of Zeno, its political aspect only has been dwelt upon. Its place in the development of religious doctrine must be alluded to, however briefly, for, as Gibbon truly remarks, 'it is in ecclesiastical story that Zeno appears least contemptible.' Throughout his reign the Emperor was a steady supporter of orthodoxy, and the patriarchs of Constantinople, who were thorns in the side of a Basiliscus and an Anastasius, served him as faithfully and as steadily as his own Isaurians. There was a great deal, however, of sheer misunderstanding of the Council of Chalcedon and much personal rancour against it in some of the Eastern dioceses, especially in Egypt and Syria. Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of great gifts and much force of character, induced the Emperor to attempt to remove these misunderstandings and to soften this rancour, by the issue of his celebrated *Henoticon*, or Letter of Union, a document which was of course drawn up by Acacius himself. In this instrument the *Via Media* of Catholic orthodoxy, as distinct, on the one hand, from the Nestorian doctrine that Christ's human nature was a mere robe worn by the Eternal Son, and on the other, from the Monophysite doctrine that the Godhead was weary, suffered, and died, was reaffirmed in terms which appear to the lay mind undistinguishable from the decrees of Chalcedon. A formal adhesion to the utterances of that Council was, however, not insisted upon, and, with some lack of candour, the one allusion to Chalcedon

482 or 483.

θησαυροῖς· ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο χρυσίον ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος τοῖς βαρβάροις χορηγούμενον πεντακισχιλίας ἕλκον λίτρας. (Pounds of gold are no doubt intended.) Evagr. iii. 35.

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which was introduced was couched in purposely disrespectful terms.

Its praiseworthy motives.

Such was the tenour of the Henoticon of Zeno, a document which has met with but scant favour from ecclesiastical historians[1]. Yet the object which it proposed to itself, the closing of a barren and profitless controversy, was one earnestly to be desired in the interests of a living faith. The mere statesman could not be blind to the fact that this Monophysite logomachy (which in fact paved the way for the conquests of Mohammed) was rending the Eastern Empire in pieces. And from the point of view of a Byzantine official, there was nothing monstrous in the idea of the Augustus preparing a symbol of religious belief for all his subjects, though no doubt, as a matter of ecclesiastical order, that symbol should have been submitted for discussion to a council of bishops. However, issued as it was on the sole authority of the Emperor, it all but succeeded in its object. Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch accepted it; and thus the four great patriarchates of the East, after the discords of forty years, were again united in apparent harmony. There was but one exception, but that was world-important. The Pope of Rome, now but a precarious subject of the Eastern Caesar, unwilling to acquiesce in any further exaltation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and determined above all things that the decrees of Chalcedon, those trophies of the victory of the mighty Leo, should not merely mould but should be recognised as moulding the faith of the whole Christian world, refused to accept the

[1] 'Subtle to escape subtleties' is Milman's verdict (Hist. of Latin Christianity, i. 248).

Henoticon of Zeno, and soon began to clamour for its withdrawal. It will be necessary hereafter to sketch the outlines of the controversy thence ensuing, a controversy in which it is impossible to believe that either party saw any principle at stake other than the sublime principle of self-assertion, the sacred duty of choosing the chief seats in the synagogues and the uppermost places at feasts.

Its unfortunate results.

But whatever its motives, this controversy led to a schism between the two great sees of Eastern and Western Christendom, a schism which lasted thirty-five years, which had important results on the earlier fortunes of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy, and which undoubtedly prepared the way for the more enduring schisms of later years. The Henoticon of Zeno, which was meant to reconcile the Churches by the Bosporus and the Nile, laid the first courses of the wall of separation which now parts St. Petersburg from the Vatican.

SINCE the publication of the first edition of this volume Prof. Bury has published his History of the Later Roman Empire, and there has also appeared an elaborate article on 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians,' by Mr. E. W. Brooks, in the Historical Review (April, 1893). The latter writer has subjected the whole history of the period to a very careful examination, and has included therein two authorities, Joshua the Stylite and some fragments of Malalas, edited by Mommsen, neither of which were before me when I wrote the preceding chapter. I gladly accept his correction of some points of detail in my narrative, but I think it better not to attempt to rewrite the chapter as, in the present very frag-

BOOK IV. CH 2. mentary condition of our materials, it is not easy to correct one error without falling into others, perhaps more important. I must also admit that, having regard to my main purpose, the reign of this Byzantine Emperor already occupies a disproportionate space in my book, and that it would not be right to expand it.

The main corrections and suggestions for which I am indebted to the Reviewer (and in part to my friend Professor Bury) are these:—

1. (p. 46.) The terrible story of the starvation of Basiliscus and his family, though told by early authorities (Marcellinus Comes, Procopius, Anonymus Valesii), may reasonably be doubted: since the yet earlier authorities, Malchus, Candidus, Evagrius (probably following Eustathius) say that Basiliscus was 'slain with the sword.'

2. (p. 119, first ed.) I erroneously connected the statement of Marcellinus as to Theodoric's march to Anaplus with the invasion of 479, instead of with that of 481. This mistake is now corrected.

3. (p. 59.) The curious and interesting *Sacra* issued by Verina on her coronation of Leontius (Theophanes A. M. 5974) might well have been inserted here. 'Verina Augusta to our officers and Christ-loving peoples, greeting. Know that the Imperial power is ours, and that after the decease of my husband Leo, we chose Trascalissaeus, surnamed Zeno, as Emperor, that our subjects might be benefited. But seeing that the state is being ruined by his avarice, we have thought it necessary to crown as your Emperor a Christian man honoured for his piety and righteousness, that he may preserve the interests of the state and calmly administer warlike affairs. We have therefore crowned Leontius, the most pious Emperor of the Romans, who will hold you all worthy of his wise forethought.'

As Mr. Brooks observes, there is perhaps in the wording of this proclamation a hit at the heterodoxy of Zeno and a bid for the support of the adherents of the Council of Chalcedon.

4. (p. 58.) Probably, as hinted in the note, Longinus was not really restored so early as is here said. Marcellinus Comes assigns his return to the year 485.

5. (p. 62.) The account of the betrayal of Illus and Leontius given in the text is from Theophanes (A. M. 5980). Joannes Antiochenus (fr. 214, 10, ap. Müller, v. 28) gives a much fuller and more graphic account, and makes Indacus Cottunes (see p. 60) the traitor. Indacus, however, appears to have been slain in the *mêlée* by some of the garrison of the castle.

6. Another fragment of Joannes Antiochenus (214 b, ap. Müller, v. 29, 30) also enables us to disentangle to some extent three different persons, all probably Isaurians, and all called Longinus (see Bury, i. 293). They were (1) Longinus the brother of Zeno; (2) Longinus of Cardama, Master of the Offices about 485 (J. A. fr. 214. 6, Müller, iv. 621), who with Athenodorus headed the Isaurian rebellion against Anastasius, and was not subdued till 497 (by John the Goth). (3) Longinus the Selinuntian, who also shared in the Isaurian rebellion, and was sent as a captive to Constantinople to be led in triumph through the streets of the city, as stated in the note 2, p. 66. The confusion between Nos. 1 and 2 introduced some inaccuracy into my history of the early years of Anastasius (pp. 64–66), which I trust that I have now removed.

CHAPTER III.

THE TWO THEODORICS IN THRACE.

Authorities.

Sources:—

OUR chief source for this chapter is MALCHUS (cir. 500), whose graphic touches make us continually regret that we have no longer the entire work, as it lay before Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century, when he made his Excerpts as to Embassies. I have quoted from Müller's edition (Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. iv), as he arranges the fragments in a better order than that adopted in the Bonn edition. His order is that indicated in Köpke's 'Anfänge des Königthums' (pp. 155–6, n. 3).

A little further information is supplied by JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS (610–650?), and by EUSTATHIUS (502) as quoted by EVAGRIUS. ENNODIUS (Panegyric on Theodoric—about 510), JORDANES (552), and PROCOPIUS (550) describe Theodoric's negotiations with Zeno as to the Italian expedition.

Guides:—

Dahn, 'Könige der Germanen,' Part ii. 67–77 (especially helpful as to the relative position of the two Theodorics); and Köpke, 'Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen,' pp. 148–164. Bury, 'History of the Later Roman Empire;' and Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians' (see p. 69).

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY LIFE OF THEODORIC.

ANNO AETATIS.		A.D.
	Born the day of Ostrogothic victory over Huns (possibly a year or two before the date here given)	454
7	Sent as hostage to Emperor Leo at Constantinople	461
	Remains at Byzantium ten years, till	471
17	Conquers Sarmatians and takes Singidunum (Belgrade)	471
20	Death of his father Theudemir and of Emperor Leo	474
23	Assists Zeno against Basiliscus	477
23	Patricius, Magister Militiae, adopted son of Emperor	477
24	Abortive campaign against Theodoricus Triarii	478
24	Coalition with him against Zeno	478
25	Theodoricus Triarii enters service of Emperor	479
25	Campaign of Theodoric the Amal in Epirus Nova. Revolt of Marcian	479
27	Attempt of Theodoricus Triarii against Constantinople. His death	481
28	Theodoric ravages the two Macedonias and Thessaly, and plunders Larissa	482
29	Magister Militiae Praesentalis	483
30	Consul. He assassinates Recitach	484
30	Sent against Illus and Leontius, but recalled	484
33	Ravages up to the gates of Constantinople. Burns Melantias. Returns to Nova whence he had set out	487
34	Starts for Italy	488

Theodoric's aims.

SUCH as has been described in the last chapter was the wild welter of sedition, intrigue, religious rancour, military insubordination, imperial tyranny in which the young Ostrogoth was to spend the fourteen years following the death of his father and his own elevation to sole kingship over his people. What were his own aims? Confused and uncertain enough, doubtless; but they gradually grew clearer, and the clearer they became the more they drew him away from Byzantium. What did he require? First and foremost food for

BOOK IV. CH. 3. his people, who were suffering, as all the world was suffering, from that movement of the nations in which they had borne so large a share; who had wandered from the Middle Danube to the Balkans, and had not yet found an unravaged land where they could dwell in plenty. For himself, he wanted, sometimes, a great place in the Roman official hierarchy, in the midst of that *civilitas* which, in his ten years of hostage-ship, he had learned to love so well. To be saluted as Illustris; to command the sumptuously clothed 'silentiaries' in the imperial palace; himself to wear the *laticlave* and take his seat in that most venerable assembly in the world, the Roman Senate; to stand beside Augustus when ambassadors from the ends of the earth came to prostrate themselves before him,—this was what seemed sometimes supremely to be desired. But then, again, there were times when he felt that the love and loyalty of his own yellow-haired barbarians were worth all the pomp and flatteries of the purple presence-chamber. He was himself by birth a king, ruler of a dwindled people, it was true, but still a king; an Amal sprung from the seed of gods, and with the blood of countless generations of kings coursing in his veins. Was such an one to wait obsequiously outside the purple veil; to deem it a high honour when the voice of the sensual poltroon who might happen to be the Augustus of the hour, and whom some woman's favour had raised from nothingness to the diadem, called him into 'the sacred presence'? No: the King of the Goths was greater than any Illustris of Byzantium. And yet how could he keep his kingship, how sway this mass of brave but stolid souls whose only trade was fighting, without

putting himself at enmity with the Empire which, after all, he loved?

The two Theodorics.

The perplexities of his position were not lessened by the fact that he was not the undisputed representative even of the Gothic nation in the eyes of the Eastern Romans. Over against him, the Amal king, stood another Theodoric the Goth, his senior in age, his inferior by birth, brought forward into notice by his connection with other barbarian chiefs, once all-powerful at court, and regarded probably by the Byzantine statesmen as the foremost 'Scythian' in their land. This was Theodoric the before-mentioned son of Triarius, surnamed Strabo (the Squinter), nephew of the wife of the great Aspar, distantly connected by blood with the Ostrogothic king, but not belonging to the Amal line[1]. These two Theodorics cross and re-cross one another's paths like Una and Duessa in the 'Faery Queen.' By the Greek historians the older chieftain is generally spoken of as 'Theuderichus' simply, while the more nobly born is invariably called 'the son of Walamir.' This mistake, for such it must certainly have been, since the family historian[2] asserts him to have been the son of Theudemir, was probably due to the circumstances of his first introduction to the Byzantine Court. Walamir being then king of the Goths, this child, which was brought as a pledge of his fidelity, was known as the son of Walamir;

[1] The statement that there was relationship between the two Theodorics rests only on the authority of Joannes Antiochenus, who says that Theodoric the Amal was ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ Ῥεκιτάχ, the latter being a son of Theodoric Strabo. On the other hand, Jordanes distinctly says of the latter that he was 'alia stirpe, non Amala procreatus;' De Reb. Get. lii.

[2] Cassiodorus.

BOOK IV. CH. 8.

and, that title once given to him, the courtiers of Leo and Zeno were too supercilious or too careless to change it. With his own name and his father's name thus denied to him, and wavering, as he sometimes felt his own soul to waver, between the gorgeous bondage of the one career and the uncultured freedom of the other, he may well have sometimes doubted of his own identity. In order that we may be under no such confusion between the two leaders of the Goths, it will be well to drop the name which is common to both of them, for a while, and to call Theodoric son of Theudemir 'the Amal' and Theodoric Strabo 'the son of Triarius [1].'

Theodoricus Triarii in revolt.

Our first undoubted information as to the son of Triarius belongs to the later years of the Emperor Leo [2]. We may infer that ever since the fall of his great kinsman Aspar he had assumed, with his barbarians, an attitude of sullen opposition or of active
473? hostility to the Empire. At length it became necessary to send an embassy to ascertain what terms would purchase his friendship. For this mission Leo selected Pelagius the Silentiary, the same officer, doubtless, who seventeen years later was foully

[1] If I followed the example of Tillemont, I should call him 'the Squinter.' The phrase *Le Louche* haunts with its ugly presence many pages of his Life of Zeno.

[2] Jordanes, as we have already seen, carries back the prosperity of Theodoricus Triarii (and the Amal jealousy of him) to the war preceding the surrender of the child Theodoric as a hostage (461–2); but we must not place too much dependence on the accuracy of Jordanes on such a point as this. These are his words (De Reb. Get. lii): 'Missa legatione ad imperatorem Valamir ejusque germani . . . vident Theodericum Triarii filium . . . omnino florentem cum suis, Romanorumque amicitiis junctum et annua solennia consequentem et se tantum despici.'

murdered by the dying Zeno. The son of Triarius received Pelagius courteously, and sent a return-embassy to Constantinople, expressing his willingness to live in friendship with the Romans, but claiming the concession of three points,—that the whole of Aspar's inheritance should be made over to him, that he should succeed to all his military commands, and that his people should have settlements assigned them in Thrace. Only the confirmation of the nephew in the military rank of his uncle was Leo willing to concede, and accordingly the war went forward. The son of Triarius divided his forces, and attacked both Philippi and Arcadiopolis[1]. Against the first city he achieved no considerable success, but he pressed the blockade of the second so closely that the inhabitants, after feeding on horseflesh, and even on the corpses of their fellow-citizens, were compelled to surrender. Meanwhile, however, the Goths themselves were suffering all the miseries of famine. Food, not empire, was probably the prize for which many of these campaigns were planned. And thus the high contracting parties came to an agreement, the terms being that the son of Triarius was to receive the highly honourable post of *Magister Equitum et Peditum Praesentalis*, and faithfully to serve the Emperor Leo against all his enemies, the Vandals only excepted; to receive for himself and followers a yearly subsidy of 2000 lbs. of gold (£80,000), and further to be recognised as king (*αὐτοκράτορα*) of the Goths, while the Emperor bound himself not to harbour any rebels against the

Peace arranged.

[1] Tillemont places Arcadiopolis 'between Constantinople and Hadrianople.' I have not found any more exact description of the site.

BOOK IV. CH. 8.

new king's authority. This last clause possibly points to some growing tendency on the part of the Triarian Goths to enlist under the banners of his better-born rival, the true Amal king. It has been well remarked[1] that this proposal to accept a patent of *Gothic* royalty from the Roman Augustus distinctly indicates inferior ancestry, an absence of true royal descent on the part of the son of Triarius. With the kingship of Alaric, of Walamir, and of the young Theodoric, Roman emperors had had no concern. It was no doubt tacitly assumed that the Goths would find settlements in Thrace, and in consideration of their yearly subsidy would abstain from promiscuous raids upon their neighbours.

Threatening attitude of Theodoricus Triarii.

The death of Leo and the proclamation of Zeno brought about a change in the attitude of the son of Triarius towards the Empire. The opposition was probably sharper between the Gothic party once headed by Aspar, and the Isaurians, than between any other two factions; and the son of Triarius may have speculated on the elevation of Basiliscus rather than Zeno to the vacant throne. At any rate he now threw off the mask, divested himself, we must suppose, of his dignity as Commander of the Household Troops, and advanced in a threatening attitude to the long wall which defended the Thracian Chersonese. Against him Zeno sent some troops under the command of Heraclius, son of Florus, a brave general, but harsh, unpopular, and destitute of forethought. In his over-confidence he stumbled apparently into some trap prepared for him by the barbarians, was defeated, and

[1] By Köpke (Anfänge der Königthums, p. 154) and Dahn (Könige der Germanen, ii. 69 .

taken prisoner. The Emperor sent an embassy to the son of Triarius to arrange for the liberation of his general, whose ransom was fixed at 100 talents (£20,000). This sum, with delicate consideration for the feelings of the captive, Zeno ordered to be paid by the near relations of Heraclius, saying that if any one else (himself for instance) found the money, it would seem as if the great Heraclius was being bought and sold like a slave. The money was paid to the Goths, and an escort of barbarians was told off to escort him to the friendly shelter of Arcadiopolis. On the march, while Heraclius, who seems not to have been allowed the dignity of a horse, was walking along the road, one of the Goths smote him roughly on the shoulder. An attendant of the general returned the blow, and said, 'Fellow! remember what you are. Do you not know who it is that you have struck?' 'I know him quite well,' was the reply, 'and I know that he is going to perish miserably by my hand.' With that, he and his companions drew their swords, and one cut off the head of Heraclius, another his hands. What became of the ransom we are not told. The story is not creditable to the good faith or the humanity of the barbarians; but it was stated in explanation, though not in justification of the deed, that Heraclius had once ordered some soldiers serving under him, who had committed a trifling military offence, to be thrown into a dry well, and had then compelled their comrades to bury them under a shower of stones. It was the memory of this cruel deed which now cost him his life[1].

[1] Malchus, fr. 4 and 5 (ap. Müller), combined with Joannes Antiochenus, *fr.* 210.

BOOK IV. Ch. 8.

Rebellion of Basiliscus, 475-477.

Instead of Heraclius, Illus was sent to prosecute the war against the Gothic mutineers: but soon the face of affairs was changed by the success of the conspiracy in favour of Basiliscus, which was in fact hatched at the head-quarters of Illus. Zeno was now a fugitive, Basiliscus was draped in the purple, and the son of Triarius resumed his place in the Court of Byzantium. He was, however, indignant at finding himself, the veteran and the representative of the great Aspar, constantly postponed to the young dandy Harmatius, 'a man who seemed to think about nothing but the dressing of his hair and other adornments of his person[1].' Possibly this jealousy made him somewhat slack in upholding the tottering fortunes of Basiliscus. His namesake the Amal, on the other hand, co-operated zealously with Illus and the other generals in bringing about the return of Zeno, who contrived to send messengers to him at his quarters at Novi asking for help[2]. A panegyrist of the great Theodoric[3] in his later years ascribed to him the sole glory of restoring the fugitive and helpless Emperor to his throne; but this no doubt is the exaggeration of a courtier.

Theodoric the Amal in favour at Court.

The upshot of the whole matter is that in the year 478 we find the son of Triarius again outside the pale of the commonwealth, wandering probably up and down the passes of the Balkan, in a state of chronic hostility to the Empire, while his rival, the young

[1] Malchus, fr. 8, apud Müller.

[2] Anon. Valesii, 9: 'Zeno confortans Isauros intra provinciam, deinde misit ad civitatem Novam ubi erat Theodoricus, dux Gothorum, filius Walameris, et eum invitavit in solacium sibi adversus Basiliscum.'

[3] Ennodius (Panegyricus, p. 168, ed. Migne).

Amal king, holds the dignities of Patrician and *Magister Utriusque Militiae*, dignities usually reserved for much older men [1], and is, by some process in which Roman and barbarian ideas must have been strangely blended, adopted as the Emperor's son-in-arms [2]. It is, however, a curious commentary on the double and doubtful position of the young Ostrogoth, that his duties as *Magister Utriusque Militiae* do not appear to have prevented him from continuing to reside with his people, in the Province of Scythia by the mouth of the Danube. BOOK IV. CH. 8. 478.

Soon after the restoration of Zeno to the throne, an embassy came to Constantinople from 'the Goths in Thrace allied with the Empire whom the Romans call *foederati*,' and who were evidently the bands under the command of the son of Triarius. This description, which we owe to the accurate pen of Malchus, is interesting as showing that the term *foederati* was still employed, that these wandering hordes, formidable as they were to the peaceful husbandman, were still nominally the allies of Rome. Nay, the word carries us back a hundred years to the time when Theodosius enlisted the disheartened fragments of the Gothic nation under his eagles, and perhaps permits us to see in the son of Triarius the natural successor of the Ostrogothic chiefs, Alatheus and Saphrax. Embassy from Gothic *foederati*, 478.

[1] Malchus (ap. Müller, p. 129). The precise character of Theodoric's military rank is a matter of conjecture.

[2] 'Et post aliquod tempus ad ampliandum honorem ejus in arma sibi eum filium adoptavit' (Jord. De Reb. Get. lvii). The date is doubtful, but the words of Malchus, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔδει μηδέποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλλως πως ἢ πρὸς πατέρα φρονεῖν τε καὶ διατίθεσθαι, seem to refer to the same ceremony, and if so, would fix it to this period.

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478.

Will the Emperor receive Theodoricus Triarii into favour?

The request preferred by this embassy was that the Emperor would be pleased to be reconciled with *their* Theodoric, who wished for nothing better than to lead a quiet and peaceable life, and refrain from vexing the republic with his arms. On the other hand, they begged the Emperor to consider what harm Theodoric the Amal had done to the State, and how many cities he had destroyed when he too was in opposition. Let Zeno bury old grudges in the grave of Basiliscus, and only consider which cause was really most for the advantage of the Roman world.

Consultation with the Senate,

On receiving this message the Emperor convoked a meeting of the Senate and desired the advice of that body as to his reply. The Senators answered that it was out of the question to think of taking *both* the Theodorics into his pay, inasmuch as the revenues, even now, scarcely sufficed to supply the regular soldiers with their rations. Which of the two the Emperor would select to honour with his friendship, was a matter for Augustus himself to decide. He then called in to the palace all the com-

and with the army.

mon soldiers who were in the city and all the *scholae* (regiments of household troops); mounted the platform (*suggestum*[1]), from which a Roman imperator was accustomed to harangue his men; and delivered a long oration of invective against the son of Triarius. 'This man has always been the enemy of the Roman name. He has wandered, ravaging, through the plains of Thrace. He has joined in the cruel deeds of Harmatius, cutting off, like him, the hands of his cap-

[1] βῆμα is the word used by Malchus. No doubt the kind of structure from which Trajan is represented in the Column as addressing his soldiers is intended by the historian.

tives[1], and has frightened all the agricultural population from their homes. He exercised a disastrous influence on the commonwealth in the affair of Basiliscus, and persuaded that usurper to make away with his Roman troops, on the plea that the Goths would suffice for his defence. And now he sends an embassy, nominally to sue for peace, but really to demand the office of *Magister*. If you therefore have any opinion on these matters, utter it boldly, for, indeed, for this purpose have I summoned you into the palace, knowing that that emperor is likely to succeed who calls his brave soldiers into his counsels.' The soldiers, seeing which way their advice was asked for, all shouted for war with the son of Triarius; and, after a short interval of hesitation, a defiant answer was returned to his ambassadors. Zeno's resentment against him was further increased by the fact of the discovery of the secret practices of three of the Gothic chief's adherents in the city. These men (one of whom was 'Anthemius the physician') had not only written letters to him themselves, but had forged others (if in truth they were forgeries) from men holding high office in the State, bidding the son of Triarius be of good heart since he had many well-wishers in the city. The

War resolved on.

[1] This is how Gibbon, following the Latin version, translates the passage *χεῖράς τε ἀποτέμνων ἅμα τῷ Ἁρματίῳ*. In Smith's edition this translation is rebuked and 'cutting off *the hands of Harmatius*' is proposed instead. But the old interpretation seems to me allowable and the more probable of the two. In fact it is rendered almost certain by the statement of Suidas (also perhaps extracted from Malchus) concerning Harmatius : Ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος πρὸς τοὺς στασιάζοντας, ὅσους λάβοι τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτέμνων ἀπέπεμπε. But it is possible that Ἁρματίῳ is a mistake for Ἡρακλείῳ (see p. 79).

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three traitors were punished with stripes and exile, the sentence of death being commuted at the express request of the Emperor.

Theodoricus Triarii gets the best of it.

War then, open war, was declared by Zeno on the Gothic *foederati*. It seems, however, soon to have suggested itself to the Emperor, that *his* Theodoric was every day growing weaker, while the son of Triarius was accumulating a larger and larger army; and he accordingly determined, if it were possible, to make peace with the latter on reasonable conditions. He sent therefore to offer him his own previous terms, restoration of his private property (including probably the estates of Aspar), a life unmolesting and unmolested, and the surrender of his son as a hostage for the fulfilment of this compact. But the books of the Sibyl were not now for sale at the same price as before. The son of Triarius refused to consent to these terms. He would not send his son as a hostage, nor could he (so he said), now that he had collected so vast a force, live upon the estates which, carefully husbanded, might have sufficed for his previous wants. No! He would keep his men about him, till some great success, or some great catastrophe, had decided the quarrel between him and Zeno.

Imperial preparations.

The Emperor therefore had no resource but to prosecute the war with vigour. The dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and the East (representing the whole of Asia Minor and Syria) were emptied of their legions, which came flocking to Constantinople. Waggons were procured for the transport of arms, draught oxen were bought, corn and all other necessaries for a campaign were laid up in store, and the great Illus himself was expected to take the command.

For some reason or other, not Illus, but his brother-in-law Martinianus, a much weaker man, was named general. As the imperial army, consisting probably of a number of discordant elements without cohesion or mutual reliance, was rapidly becoming disorganised under the nominal command of this man, Zeno determined to accelerate matters by urging the Amal into action. He sent him a pressing message, urging him to do some deed against the son of Triarius, which might show that he was not unworthily styled *Magister* of the Roman army. Theodoric however, who was no doubt aware of the recent attempt to resume negotiations with his rival, refused to stir until the Emperor and Senate had both bound themselves by a solemn oath to make no treaty with the son of Triarius. He then arranged a plan of campaign, which involved a march with all his forces from Marcianople (*Shumla*) to the Gates of the Balkan. There he was to be met by the *Magister Militum* of Thrace[1], with 2000 cavalry and 10,000 heavy-armed soldiers. After crossing the Balkans he was also to be met in the valley of the Hebrus and near Hadrianople by 20,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, troops being drawn, if necessary, from Heraclea[2] (on the sea of Marmora) and all the cities and garrisons near Constantinople.

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478. Theodoric the Amal urged into action,

All these junctions of troops were promised: none of them were performed; and thus Theodoric, who punctually fulfilled his share of the bargain, found himself, after an exhausting march over the rugged

and left unsupported.

[1] So, on the authority of the Notitia Orientis, cap. vii, I would translate ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θρᾴκης. There was no 'Dux Thraciae.'

[2] Not Heraclea in Macedonia (*Monastir*) as stated in the first edition. See Bury, i. 265.

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Balkan country, with only his Goths, unsupported by the imperial troops, in presence of his enemy, who was encamped on the steep and unassailable cliff of Sondis[1]. A pitched battle was impossible; but skirmishes constantly took place between the soldiers of both armies, when engaged in getting fodder for their horses. Every day, too, did the son of Triarius ride within earshot of his rival's camp, and pour forth a stream of insulting epithets on the head of 'that perjurer, that enemy and traitor to the whole Gothic race, Theodoric. Silly and conceited boy! He does not understand the disposition of the Romans, nor see through their design, which is to let the Goths tear one another to pieces, while they sit by and watch the game at their ease, sure of the real victory, whichever side is defeated. And we the while, turning our hands against our brethren, like the men who in that story of theirs sprang from the seed of Cadmus, are to be left few in number, an easy prey to the machinations of the Romans. Oh, son of Theudemir! which of all the promises have they kept by which they lured you hither? Which of all their cities opened her gates to you and feasted your soldiers? They have enticed you to your own destruction, and the penalty of your rashness and stupidity will fall on the people whom you have betrayed.'

Insulting words of Theodoricus Triarii.

These words, frequently repeated, produced their effect on the Amal's followers, who came to him, and said that indeed the adversary spoke reasonably, and that it was absurd for them to continue an internecine conflict with their kinsmen for the benefit of the

The Amal's troops insist on a coalition between the two Theodorics.

[1] Situation unknown. Manso's conjecture, 'Succi,' does not meet with approval.

common enemy. The son of Triarius, perceiving that his words were finding entrance, came next day to the crest of an overhanging hill, and thence shouted forth his upbraidings to Theodoric: 'Oh, scoundrel! why art thou thus leading my brethren to perdition? Why hast thou made so many Gothic women widows? Where are now their husbands? What has become of all that abundance of good things which filled their waggons, when they first set forth from their homes to march under thy standard? Then did they own their two or three horses apiece. Now, without a horse, they must needs limp on foot through Thrace, following thee as if they were thy slaves. Yet they are free men, and of no worse lineage than thine. Ay! and the time hath been when these penniless wanderers would use a bushel to measure their *aurei*.' When the army heard these too truly taunting words, men and women alike came clamouring round the tent of Theodoric, 'Peace, Peace with our brethren! Else will we quit thy standards, and take our own road to safety.' The king, who was truly head of a limited monarchy, recognising an expression of that popular voice to which he must defer, came down (doubtless with difficulty smothering his wrath) to the banks of the stream appointed for a conference, met and consulted with the man who had just been calling him a scoundrel and a boy, settled the conditions of peace, and then took and received a solemn oath, that there should be no war thenceforward between the son of Theudemir and the son of Triarius.

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478.

The reconciled Gothic chiefs sent a joint embassy to the Emperor, demanding, on the part of the son of Triarius, the fulfilment of all promises made to him by

Joint embassy to the Emperor.

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Leo, the arrears of pay due for past years, and the restoration of his relatives [the family of Aspar] if still alive, if not, an oath concerning them from Illus, and any of the Isaurian chiefs to whose keeping they might have been consigned[1]. The claim of the Amal prince (mingled with complaints of the broken promises of the Emperor) was, that some district should be assigned him for a permanent dwelling-place, that rations of corn should be provided for his people till they could reap their own harvest, and that some of the imperial revenue officers, who were called *Domestici*, should be immediately sent to take account of (and no doubt to legalise) the requisitions which the Goths were then levying on the province. If this were not done, the Amal said, he could not prevent his men, famished and destitute, from supplying their needs in any way they could. This last request curiously illustrates Theodoric's desire not to sink into a mere chief of lawless plunderers, nor to make an irretrievable breach with the Roman *civilitas*.

Zeno's reply.

To the son of Triarius, Zeno does not appear to have vouchsafed any reply. He answered the Amal's complaints with a wrangling '*Tu quoque:*' 'You said nothing at first about requiring the help of imperial troops to beat your rival; that was an afterthought, when you had already made up your mind to negotiate with him, and you hoped to betray our soldiers into a snare. So, at least, our generals thought, and

[1] Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄρα τεθνήκασι, τὸν Ἰλλοῦν περὶ τούτων ἐπομόσαι καὶ ἄλλους, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν Ἰσαύρων πιστεύει. What could be the object of asking for such an oath? Was it in order to furnish legal proof of their death, and enable the son of Triarius to enter on their inheritance?

that was why they would not carry into effect the proposed combinations. Nevertheless, if you will even yet be faithful to our cause, and will vanquish the son of Triarius, you shall receive £40,000 in gold and £35,000 in silver, paid down, a yearly revenue of £6,000, and the daughter of Olybrius (sprung from the mighty Theodosius) or some other noble Byzantine damsel to wife.'

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Zeno's vacillation.

Though aided by high dignities bestowed on most of the Gothic emissaries, all these attempts to break the league between the two Theodorics proved fruitless, and the Emperor saw himself once more compelled to face the reality of war. He again called out his army and announced that he in person would share the hardships, and applaud the valour, of his soldiers. The announcement that, after a century of seclusion in his palace, the Roman Augustus was going to be once more, in the antique sense of the word, an *Imperator*, roused indescribable enthusiasm in the troops. The very men who had before paid large sums to the generals for exemption from military duty, now gladly paid for liberty to fight. The scouts who had been sent forward by the son of Triarius were taken prisoners: a portion of the Amal's guard, who had pressed forward to the Long Wall, were bravely repulsed by the soldiers who were guarding it. This was the outlook one day, and it shows us what immense recuperative energy yet lay in the Roman state-system, if only it had been guided by worthy hands. The next day, all was changed by the palace-bred sloth and cowardice of the Emperor. It was announced that Zeno would not go forth to the campaign. The soldiers heard the tidings with indignation.

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They gathered together in angry clusters, and began taunting one another with cowardice. 'Are you men?' they said; 'have you arms in your hands, and will you patiently endure such womanish softness, by which city after city has been sacrificed, and now the whole fair Empire of Rome is going to ruin, and every one who pleases may have a hack at it?' The temper of the troops was so mutinous that by the advice of Martinianus (himself, as has been said, an incompetent commander) they were ordered to disperse into winter quarters, the pretext being alleged that there was a prospect of peace with the son of Triarius. The dispersion was successfully effected, but, as they went, the soldiers growled over their own folly in quitting the neighbourhood of the capital before they had bestowed the purple on some man worthy to wear it and able to save the state.

He wins over Theodoricus Triarii and dissolves the coalition.

However, if Zeno failed to exhibit the courage of the lion, he possessed, and could use with some success, the cunning of the fox. The hope of dissolving the Gothic coalition by intrigue proved to be not illusory. He had tried it before, at the wrong end, when he dangled his bribes and his heiresses before the eyes of the loyal-hearted son of Theudemir. He now sent his ambassadors to the son of Triarius, to see upon what terms he could buy peace with him. They arrived at a critical moment. Theodoric the Amal had swooped down on the fertile country at the foot of Rhodope, was carrying off flocks and herds, expelling or slaying the cultivators and wasting their substance. The son of Triarius watched with grim delight these proceedings of 'the friend of the Romans, the son of Augustus:' but at the same time

professed to mourn that the punishment was falling on the guiltless peasants, not on Zeno or Verina, whose happiness would not be interfered with, though *they* were reduced to the extreme of misery. In this mood the ambassadors found him: but all his newly-kindled and virtuous indignation against the Court, as well as his recently professed horror of Goth warring against Goth, vanished before the splendour of their offers. The promise of regular pay and rations to 13,000 Goths to be chosen by himself, the command of two *Scholae*, the dignity of *Magister Praesentalis* [1], the re-grant of all the offices which he had held under Basiliscus, and the restitution of all his former property, these were the terms which detached the fervid German patriot from his young confederate. As for his relations (the family of Aspar) the Emperor returned a mysterious reply: 'If they were dead, it was of no use to say anything more about the subject; but if they were alive they too should receive their old possessions and go to dwell in some city which he would point out to them [2].' The negotiation was finally ratified on these lines. Money was sent for distribution among the Triarian Goths, and their leader stepped into all the dignities which were previously held by the Amal, but of which the latter was now formally divested. In this 'triangular duel' each combination had now been tried. 'Zeno and the

[1] Either *Equitum* or *Peditum*.

[2] Is it possible that these men, like so many others who had provoked the resentment of the Isaurian party, had been sent under the care of Illus to some stronghold in the Asiatic highlands, and that Zeno himself did not know what had become of them?

BOOK IV. CH. 8. 478. Amal against the son of Triarius' had given place to 'the two Theodorics against Zeno,' which in its turn was now replaced by 'Zeno and the son of Triarius against the Amal.'

Theodoric invades Macedonia.

Of the immediate effect of the announcement of this combination on the Amal king we have no information. We find him, however, early in the next

479. year, exasperated by recent losses, bursting, an angry fugitive, into Macedonia, burning towns and killing garrisons without quarter. Stobi having been thus severely handled, he pressed on to Thessalonica. The inhabitants of that city, ever an excitable and suspicious people, conceived an idea that the Emperor and the Prefect meant to surrender them, unresisting, to the Barbarian. A kind of revolution took place in the city. The statues of Zeno were thrown down, and the mob were on the point of tearing the Prefect to pieces and setting his palace on fire. At the critical moment, the intervention of the clergy and of some of the most respected citizens averted these crimes. The populace, who were asked to confide the defence of their city to whom they would, took the keys of Thessalonica from the Prefect and handed them to the Archbishop, whose zeal against the Arian invaders they doubtless felt to be a sufficient guarantee for the tenacity of his defence. A civic guard was formed, a commander was chosen, and his orders were obeyed. In perusing the few lines which the Byzantine historian devotes to these events we might fancy ourselves to be reading the story of Paris in the early days of 'Madam Ligue.'

Another embassy from Zeno

Meanwhile Zeno, finding himself not strong enough to crush Theodoric, determined at least to soothe him,

and to avert, if possible, the conflagration of towns and the slaughter of garrisons. He sent an embassy (consisting of his relative Artemidorus and of a certain Phocas who had been his secretary when he himself filled the office of *Magister Militum*[1]) to remind Theodoric of past favours and dignities conferred upon him, a barbarian by birth, in full reliance on his loyalty. 'All these advantages he had lost, through no fault of the Emperor, by giving heed to the crafty suggestions of a man who was their common enemy. But let him at least, in order not to make his case more desperate, refrain from inflicting on the cities of a powerful nation such injuries as it would be impossible to forgive, and let him send an embassy to obtain from the goodness of the Emperor such requests as he could reasonably prefer.' Theodoric, whose own better instincts were ever on the side of civilisation, issued orders that his soldiers should abstain from conflagration and from needless bloodshed, though they were still to live at free-quarters in Macedonia. His messengers returned with the Emperor's ambassadors to Constantinople, and were graciously received there. He himself moved with his army to Heraclea.

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479. to the Amal.

This city, the *Monastir* of our own day, was situated on the great Egnatian Way, a little less than half-way from Thessalonica on the Aegean to Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic. 'Built at the western edge of a noble plain, surrounded by the most exquisitely shaped hills, in a recess or bay formed by two very

Theodoric at Heraclea.

[1] Ἀρτεμίδωρον πέμπει καὶ Φωκᾶν τὸν ὅτε ἦν στρατηγὸς γραμματέα αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντα. We get the fact of the relationship between Artemidorus and Zeno from Cassiodorus, Var. i. 43.

BOOK IV. CH. 8. 479. high mountains, between which magnificent snow-capped barriers is the pass to Akridha[1],' and with one of the main branches of the Axius (*Vardar*) flowing through it, 'a broad and shifting torrent, crossed by numerous bridges,' the city has been for centuries, under Caesar and Sultan alike, a highly important centre of civil and military administration for the great plain of Macedonia. Of that plain, indeed, it does not strictly form a part, being raised as it were a step above it towards the central highlands, but the great chain of Scardus stretching behind it (to which belong the snow-capped barriers mentioned above) far more decisively separates it from the western regions, which were then known as Epirus and Illyria, now as Albania.

Illness of his sister.

The rich presents of the bishop of Heraclea to Theodoric and his followers preserved that city for the present from pillage. He made it his head-quarters, and was in fact detained there for a considerable time by the sickness of his sister, a sickness which in the end proved fatal. This fact illustrates the domestic aspect of the events which we are now following. It was not an army merely, it was an aggregation of families that was roaming over the regions of Thrace and Macedon, and suffering, too often, the hardships so insultingly pourtrayed by the son of Triarius.

Adamantius arrives with Zeno's offers.

While Theodoric was at Heraclea the answer of Zeno arrived. Theodoric had urged that the ambassador should be a man of high rank and large powers, as he could not undertake to keep the masses

[1] Lear (Journals of a Landscape-painter in Albania, p. 51). This book and Tozer's 'Highlands of Turkey' furnish many interesting pictures of the cities on the Egnatian Way.

of his followers from lawless pillage, if negotiations were unnecessarily protracted. In compliance with this request the Emperor selected as his ambassador, Adamantius the son of Vivianus, patrician, ex-prefect of the city, and consul[1]. Adamantius was empowered to offer the Goths the district of Pantalia (a little south of Sardica, the modern *Sofia*) for their habitation, and a sum of £8000 as subsistence-money, till they reaped their first harvests in the new settlement. The Emperor's secret motive in selecting this region was, that the Amal would there act, to some extent, as a restraint on the son of Triarius (of whose precise location we are not informed), while, on the other hand, if he himself relapsed into disloyalty, he could be crushed by the converging forces of the Thracian and Illyrian provinces. Possibly Theodoric saw the imperial game: at any rate he was not eager to accept the Pantalian settlement.

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Theodoric plans a campaign in Epirus.

For, meanwhile, another idea had been ripening in his brain. Thrace, Moesia, Macedon,—all these districts were impoverished by the marching to and fro of Romans and Barbarians for the last hundred years. Why should he not cross those soaring Scardus ranges on the western horizon, descend upon the rich and flourishing cities of *Epirus Nova*, which (except perhaps in an occasional visit from Gaiseric) had not known an invader for centuries, and there, carving out a kingdom for himself, bring the long wanderings of the Ostrogoths to an end? With this view he commenced a correspondence with Sidimund, a wealthy landowner near Dyrrhachium, who had formerly served in the imperial army, and, though a Goth, was sup-

Sidimund at Dyrrhachium.

[1] I. e. 'Consul Suffectus.' His name is not in the Fasti.

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posed to be loyal to the Romans. This Sidimund was nephew of a certain Edwin[1] (with what pleasure do we come upon these true Teutonic names in the Byzantine historian's pages!), a man who had great influence with the empress-mother Verina, and had held the high office of captain of the *Domestici.* To him, then, Theodoric sent, reminding him of the tie of relationship which existed between them, and begging his help in obtaining possession of Dyrrhachium and the rest of Epirus, 'that he might thus end his long rovings, and having established himself in a city defended by walls, might there receive whatever Fortune should send him.' Sidimund, notwithstanding his presumed philo-Romanism, elected to live under a ruler of his own nation rather than under the Emperor, and at once, repairing to Dyrrhachium, propounded to all his acquaintances there the friendly counsels of panic. 'The barbarian was certainly coming among them: the Emperor acquiesced in his doing so: arrangements for that end were at that very moment being concerted with Adamantius. He would advise them, as a friend and neighbour, to use the short interval still left, in removing their families and most precious possessions to the shelter of some other city or some island, before the Goths were upon them.' By these suggestions, coupled with hints of the Emperor's displeasure, if the city were defended against his will, and judiciously aided by the continual fabrication of fresh and more alarming rumours, he persuaded not only the chief citizens, but even two

[1] Ἀνεψιὸς δὲ ἦν οὗτος Αἰδοΐγγου, Βηρίνης τε μάλιστα ὄντος οἰκειοτάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων δομεστίκων ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντος, μεγάλην τινὰ οὖσαν τῶν περὶ βασιλέα.

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thousand soldiers who were stationed there, to flock out of the city, and was soon able to send word to Theodoric inviting him to claim an unresisting prize.

He sets forth to cross Mount Scardus.

The messenger arrived, just when the death of his sister had set Theodoric free to march from Heraclea. He called for a parley with the inhabitants of that city, who, notwithstanding the absence of outrages, had taken the alarm, and gone forth to a stronghold in the neighbourhood[1]. To these refugees he offered that he would withdraw with all his people from the town, if they would supply him with a considerable quantity of corn and wine as provision for the journey. They declined, saying that their own stores in so small a fortress were scanty; and Theodoric in a rage burned the greater part of Heraclea, all deserted as it was. He then set forth upon his westward journey over the wild and rugged Scardus Mountains, which none of the enemy had dreamed of his attempting to cross. A few Gothic horsemen, sent forward to secure the heights, struck such terror into the garrison of a fortress, erected probably on a shoulder of the snow-crowned Mount Peristeri[2] on purpose to guard the road, that they gave no thought to the defence of the position, but fled from it helter-skelter. Quite reassured as to the success of his expedition by this disgraceful cowardice, Theodoric marched on, with few or no precautions, in joyous boldness of heart, through the wild and lonely country which the Via Egnatia

[1] Was this on the same site where now stands the monastery of Bukova 'several hundred feet above the town' which gives Monastir its modern name? (Tozer, i. 170.)

[2] This being the mountain which commands the immediate neighbourhood of Monastir (Tozer, i. 183).

BOOK IV. CH. 8. 479. traverses in this part of its course. This was the order of march: Theodoric himself at the head, pushing cheerily forward, eager to see and to surprise the first city on the other side of the mountains; Soas, 'the greatest of all the generals under him,' in the centre; and Theudimund, brother of Theodoric, commanding the rear. It was no slight sign of the King's confidence in the Roman unwillingness to fight or to pursue, that he dared to give to the waggoners and the drivers of the beasts of burden, the signal to follow him into this rocky region, where, even against unencumbered troops, brave men might easily, in a hundred places, have 'made a new Thermopylae.'

Theodoric at Ochrida.

Soon after crossing the highest part of the Scardus range (about 3000 feet high), Theodoric and his men came in sight of the broad expanse of what is now called the Lake of Ochrida[1], larger than any other piece of water between the Danube and the Aegean. At its northern edge rose conspicuous from afar a steep and isolated cliff[2], dominating the lake and all the surrounding country. Here, where now stands the castle of Ochrida, stood then the town and fortress of Lychnidus, unassailable by storm of armed men, and moreover well supplied with stores of corn, and with abundance of fountains springing up in its enclosure. At this place, therefore, the eagerness of the young Gothic chief was doomed to meet with disappointment. Even Roman soldiers of the fifth century could maintain such a post as this: and Lychnidus refused to surrender. Its garrison did not, however, attempt to bar his way, and when, descending into

[1] Or Akhrida.

[2] Which Lear compares to the castle-rock of Nice.

the valley of the rock-chafed Genusus, after two days' march he reached Scampae[1], he found that city (the modern *Elbassan*) left bare of all inhabitants in the midst of its beautiful plain and rich olive-groves, a prey ready to his hand. A day and a-half or two days more brought him to the shores of the Adriatic, half-islanded in whose blue waters, on its long and slender promontory, stood the main object of his quest, the usually rich and busy city of Dyrrhachium.

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Past history of Dyrrhachium.

Dyrrhachium, which our Greek historian insists on calling by its old name of Epidamnus, and which we know as Durazzo, is a city of many associations for the classical student. In the pages of Thucydides it figures as the cause, or pretext, of the Peloponnesian War. Caesar faithfully records the severe check which he met with before its walls, and which had well-nigh turned the current of the Civil War and changed the whole after-history of Europe. Owing to the shortness of the crossing between Brundusium and Dyrrhachium the Epirote town was a place familiar to the memory of many a Roman general setting forth to administer an Eastern province, of many a Greek man of letters, with his face set westward, coming to seek his fortune in Rome. As far as Theodoric is concerned, but little of historical interest is added by his connection with the town. Apparently, the discouraging counsels of Sigismund had produced all their intended effect, and the place was already abandoned, for we are simply told that 'pushing on from Scampae he took Epidamnus.' But it may be allowable to conjecture that now, finding himself

[1] Or Scampia, whence probably *Scumbi*, the modern name of the Genusus.

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beside the waters of Hadria, knowing that he was within eighty miles of Apulia, and perhaps seeing the cloud-like form of Italy in the western horizon, he may then have dreamed the dream, which became a reality when all that fair land from Alps to Aetna was his own.

Expostulations of Adamantius.

When news of this unexpected turn in affairs reached Adamantius, who, as has been said, was especially charged with the conduct of the treaty with Theodoric, he sent one of the mounted messengers, who, being under the orders of the *Magister Officiorum*, were called *Magistriani*[1], to expostulate with the Gothic king for resuming hostilities while negotiations were still pending. He entreated Theodoric not to take any further steps in the path of hostility to the Emperor; above all things not to fit out a naval expedition in the harbour of Dyrrhachium, but to send a trusty messenger who should assure him of a safe-conduct, going and returning, if he came in person to renew the conferences. In order to be nearer to the spot, he himself left Thessalonica and came westward, two days' journey[2], along the Egnatian Way to Edessa.

Adamantius at Edessa.

Edessa (now *Vodena*) has derived both its ancient and modern name[3] from the wealth of waters with which it is encircled. It stands on a curving shelf of rock, overlooking the whole wide plain of Lower

[1] Joannes Lydus, who belonged to the rival department of the Praetorian Prefect, pours forth all his gall on 'the pretentious and inane verbosity of the so-called Magistriani' (ἡ τῶν λεγομένων μαγιστριανῶν κομποφακελλορρημοσύνη); De Magist. iii. 7.

[2] Sixteen hours according to Tozer (ii. 365).

[3] Edessa from *bedu*, Phrygian for water; Vodena from *voda*, Slavonic for the same (Tozer, i. 157).

Macedonia; and the river Lydias, dividing itself behind the city into several branches, comes foaming over this rocky screen in innumerable cascades, which remind a traveller, familiar with Italian scenery, of Tivoli[1]. Behind the city, tier on tier, rise three ranges of magnificent mountains, Scardus himself apparently dominating all. The fact that it commands the chief pass leading into these Macedonian highlands is no doubt the reason why the early Macedonian kings fixed their capital there; as it was also the reason why, in this awkward crisis of the Gothic campaign, Adamantius selected it as the scene of his council of war.

Conference with Sabinianus.

At this council he met Sabinianus, a man, as we shall see, of somewhat peculiar and stubborn character, but who, as a skilful general and a firm disciplinarian, towered far above the dead level of inefficiency, reached by most of the commanders of that time[2]. He also met there Philoxenus, a Byzantine official of high rank, who had been employed in some of the earlier negotiations with Theodoric. After opening the imperial letters, appointing Sabinianus *Magister Utriusque Militiae per Illyricum*[3], they proceeded to discuss the military position, which they found truly deplorable. Sabinianus had with him only a small

[1] Lear, p. 38.

[2] 'Sabinianus magnus Illyricianae utriusque militiae ductor creatus, curiam fragilem, collapsumque justum Reipublicae censum, vel praepaventem fovit, vel dependentem tutatus est. Disciplinae praeterea militaris ita optimus institutor coercitorque fuit, ut priscis Romanorum ductoribus comparetur. Theodoricum idem Sabinianus regem apud Graeciam debacchantem, ingenio magis quam virtute deterruit.' Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 479.

[3] Marcellinus (see above).

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band of soldiers, consisting chiefly of his own followers and dependants, while the bulk of the regular army, such as it was, was scattered through the cities of Thrace, or followed the banners of Onoulf, brother of Odovacar and murderer of Harmatius, who still held some high rank in the imperial service. They could only resolve to send notices of the appointment of Sabinianus in all directions, and summon the troops to his standard.

Negotiations for a conference with Theodoric.

Meanwhile the horseman sent by Adamantius to Theodoric returned, bringing with him a Gothic priest who had been sent to ensure his safe passage through the barbarian ranks[1]. They took the priest with them, and at once proceeded to Lychnidus (*Ochrida*), which still held out for the Empire; and were met at the gates by the magistrates and chief citizens of that strong and wealthy city by the lake. Negotiations followed for an interview with Theodoric, who was asked either to come, himself, to some place in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus, or to allow Adamantius to visit him at Dyrrhachium, sending his lieutenant Soas and another eminent Goth, to be kept as pledges for the ambassador's safe return. The two Goths were sent, but ordered not to advance beyond Scampia (*Elbassan*) till Sabinianus should take a solemn oath that, on the return of Adamantius, they too should be dismissed safe and sound. This was indeed negotiating at arm's length, but no doubt Theodoric, during his

[1] 'Having with him a priest (ἱερέα) of the barbarians whom the Christians call presbyter (πρεσβύτερον).' Photius says that Malchus was 'not outside the Christian religion' (οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ θιάσου). But it is not easy to understand why any writer, whether Christian or heathen, should think it needful to explain such very obvious words as these.

ten years' residence at Byzantium, had learned how far it was safe to trust to Roman honour. To this proposition, however, Sabinianus returned an answer, as to which we would gladly know whether it was a mere piece of contrariety, or whether it was founded on loyalty to the Teacher who said 'Swear not at all.' He declared that he had never in his life sworn about any matter, and would not now break a resolution of this kind, which he had formed long ago. Adamantius begged him to make some concession to the necessity of the times, and not to allow all the negotiations to collapse for want of those few words from him; but all that he would reply was, 'I know my duty, and shall not deviate from the rule which I have laid down for myself.'

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Adamantius at the torrent's edge.

Finding it impossible to overcome the scruples of this obstinate Non-Juror, Adamantius, whose heart was set on fulfilling his mission, started at evening; and by a series of difficult mountain-paths, on which, it was said, no horse-hoof had yet trodden, he worked round to a steep hill overlooking Dyrrhachium, but separated from it by a precipitous ravine through which a deep river ran. Halting here, he sent messengers for Theodoric, who came with a few horsemen to the river's brink. Adamantius, having posted some men on the crown of the hill to prevent a surprise, came down to his side of the river. Theodoric dismissed his attendants, and the two chiefs conversed with one another alone, the mountain torrent foaming and brawling between them. The Gothic King unfolded his complaints against the Roman Emperor, complaints which the Byzantine historian who records them considers well founded.

BOOK IV. CH. 8. 479. Complaints of Theodoric.

'I was willing enough,' said he, 'to dwell quietly outside the limits of Thrace, in my Moesian home, almost on the very confines of Scythia, obeying the Emperor and harming no man. Who brought me forth from my retirement, and insisted on my taking the field against the son of Triarius? The Emperor and his ministers. They promised that the Master of the Soldiery for Thrace should join me with an army: he never made his appearance. Then that Claudius, the steward of the Gothic funds, should meet me with the pay for my troops[1]: he, too, was invisible. Thirdly, the guides who were assigned to me, instead of taking the smooth and easy roads which would have brought me straight to the enemy's camp, led me up and down all sorts of break-neck places, where, if the enemy had attacked me, with all my long train of horses and waggons and camp furniture, I must inevitably have been destroyed. Thus brought at a disadvantage into the presence of our enemies, I was obliged to make peace with them. And in truth I owe them great thanks for having saved me alive, when owing to your treachery they might easily have annihilated me.'

Adamantius tried to answer these just complaints. He reminded Theodoric that he, when quite a young man, had received from the Emperor the dignities of Patrician and *Magister Militum*, dignities which

[1] This I presume must be the translation of ἔπειτα καὶ Κλαύδιον τὸν τοῦ Γοτθικοῦ ταμίαν σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ ἥξειν. The 'Gothicum' (somewhat like our *Danegeld*) must be a fund specially set apart for buying off Gothic depredations: the 'Xenicum' the pay of foreign mercenaries, as distinguished from that of the Roman legionaries.

were generally reserved for old and long-tried public servants. For these and many other favours he was indebted to the Emperor, whom he ought to look up to and reverence as a father[1]. His recent conduct, however, was quite intolerable. By the artifice of sham negotiations he had contrived to break out of Thrace, in which the Romans, had they been so minded, could easily have penned him up between the rivers and mountains by which that province was girdled, and had attacked the splendid and flourishing cities of Epirus. It was impossible for the Romans to abandon these cities to him, and equally impossible for him permanently to resist the Romans. Let him therefore go into Dardania[2], where was a wide and pleasant and fertile country, absolutely longing for cultivators, and there see all his followers well nourished, while at the same time he lived in peace with the Empire.

Theodoric's rejoinder.

Theodoric replied with a solemn asseveration that he himself would gladly accede to this proposition; but his army, worn out with long marches, must be allowed to repose for the winter in their present quarters. When spring came, he would be willing to deposit all his goods and all the non-combatant population in some city to be indicated by the Emperor, to surrender his mother and sister as hostages of his fidelity, and then to march with all speed into Thrace, with 6000 of his bravest warriors. With these and the troops quartered in Illyricum and such

[1] Probably an allusion to Theodoric's adoption as son-in-arms by Zeno.

[2] A district near the modern Sofia, practically equivalent to the previously offered Pantalia.

BOOK IV. CH. 8. 479. other forces as the Emperor might please to send him, he would undertake to destroy every Goth in Thrace[1]. A strange promise certainly to be made by this, the ideal Teutonic hero. Of course, as his own followers were all now quartered in Epirus, this sweeping destruction was intended only for the bands which followed the son of Triarius; but even so, considering his recent alliance with that chief and the appeal to their common Gothic nationality on which that alliance had been based, one would be glad to think that the Byzantine historian had misreported the proposals of the son of Theudemir. The reward which he claimed for these services was that he should again receive his old office of *Magister Militum*, the insignia of which should be stripped off from the hated son of Triarius, and that he should be received into the capital, 'there to live as a citizen after the Roman fashion[2].' A striking evidence this of Theodoric's genuine appreciation of that '*civilitas*' which we shall hereafter find so persistently commended by his most famous minister[3]. An indication that his thoughts were already turning, if not yet with any steadiness of purpose, towards Italy, is furnished by a still more startling proposal, that if the Emperor would but give the word, he would march off into Dalmatia in order to restore the exiled Nepos—a kinsman, be it remembered, of Zeno—to the Western throne.

They part. To all these overtures Adamantius as yet could only reply, that he had no power to treat while Theodoric remained in Epirus. But let him abstain

[1] Τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ Γότθους ἀναλώσειν ἅπαντας.

[2] Καὶ εἰσδεχθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν πολιτεύσοντα τρόπον.

[3] Cassiodorus.

from offensive warfare, and all these matters should be laid before the Emperor for his decision. And thus they parted.

BOOK IV. CH. 3.

479.

Signal disaster of the Goths.

While these negotiations were proceeding between Adamantius and the Gothic King, the troops summoned to the standard of Sabinianus had been flocking in to the lake-mirrored fortress of Lychnidus, with an alacrity rare in those degenerate days. Word was brought to the Roman general that a large detachment of the barbarians was descending, in leisurely fashion, the Candavian range of hills which intervene between Dyrrhachium and Lychnidus. They were encumbered with baggage and a long train of waggons; and the rear of the army, commanded by Theudimund brother of Theodoric, had not yet reached the plain. To render the prize more tempting, it was stated that the mother of Theodoric and Theudimund was also with the rear-guard. The conscience of Sabinianus, too scrupulous to swear, could not resist the opportunity of striking so easy a blow, although the pending negotiations of Adamantius rendered such a course somewhat dishonourable. He sent a small body of infantry round over the mountains, with precise instructions when and where to attack the barbarians. He himself started after supper with the main body of his army, and fell upon the Goths at dawn. Surprised and panic-stricken, Theudimund fled with his mother into the plain, breaking down, as he went, a bridge by which they had crossed a very deep ravine. This precaution secured their own retreat, but prevented the escape of the rest of their countrymen. The latter at first, with the courage of despair, fought against the cavalry of Sabinianus.

BOOK IV. CH. 8. 479. But when the other body of troops, the infantry who had been sent round, appeared over the crest of the mountain, there was no longer any hope of escape. Most of the Goths were cut to pieces, but more than 5000 were taken prisoners, the more nobly-born of whom were kept in ward, no doubt for the sake of their ransoms, while the rank and file were assigned as slaves to the soldiers, among whom also the booty was divided. Two thousand Gothic waggons fell into the hands of the Romans. Only a short time before, Sabinianus had issued requisitions on the Macedonian cities for a large number of those vehicles. These requisitions were at once countermanded, and indeed, after the wants of the army were fully supplied, so many waggons remained that the blaze of their burning soon lighted up the defiles of Mount Candavia, over which the general despaired of transporting them in safety.

Report to the Emperor.

On the return of Sabinianus to Lychnidus, he found Adamantius there, having just come back from his mission to Theodoric. Each sent an account of his operations to the Emperor, Adamantius pleading for peace, Sabinianus magnifying his recent success and beseeching Zeno to make no peace with the barbarian, who might certainly now be driven out of the province, if not utterly crushed. The large boasts of the general told on the unstable mind of the Emperor, who decided that war was more honourable than peace, and directed Sabinianus to carry on uncompromising hostilities against Theodoric with all the troops that he could muster. For some unexplained reason there was associated with him in this commission a man named Gento, a Goth by birth, who

had married a wealthy Roman lady of the province of Epirus, and who possessed considerable local influence. BOOK IV. CH. 3.

Adamantius, making a virtue of necessity, assembled the troops, addressed them in an eloquent harangue, praised their past valour, and exhorted them to a continued exercise of that peculiarly Roman quality, courage. He then read them the Emperor's proclamation, and stimulated them with the usual promises of special imperial favour for such soldiers as should distinguish themselves by their zeal. He was welcomed with shouts of applause, and had the gratification of making a very successful oration. 'And so,' says Malchus, surely with a slight touch of scorn, 'Adamantius disappeared, not having done anything besides.' 479. The war to be continued.

From this point onwards we have no further information from Malchus concerning the history of Theodoric, and our most valuable spring of knowledge thus dries up at once. The excuse for narrating so minutely the events of a few months in the life of the Ostrogothic king must be that, for no other part of a life extending over seventy-two years, and rich in momentous deeds, have we a history, for fulness, clearness, and vividness of colour, at all comparable to these fragments of the work of a Byzantine rhetorician fortunately preserved by the industry of a literary emperor. Compelled as we are to trace, by mere conjecture, the vague outlines of the history of Theodoric for the next nine years, we must conclude that for some reason or other his attempt to establish himself in Epirus proved a failure. Possibly he was too much weakened, and the provincials too much encouraged, by the battle of the Candavian Mountains, The story left half-told. 479-488.

BOOK IV. CH. 3. 479.

with the *Bulgarians,* whose name then appears for the first time in history.' A Turanian people, possibly true Huns, without doubt one of the vast medley of tribes who thirty years before had followed the standards of Attila, the Bulgarians have, as is well known, in the course of centuries become thoroughly Slavonised, and now look to Russia, not to Turkestan, as the lode-star of their race. When the diplomatists of Europe, a few years ago, were revising the treaty of St. Stefano at Berlin, and discussing the respective claims of the big and the little Bulgaria, they were but working out the latest terms of an equation which was first stated amid the vexations that 'the pair of Theodorics' caused to the statesmen of Constantinople.

Theodoric the Amal and the Bulgarian king.

Theodoric the Amal appears, at some such time as this, to have met the leader of the Bulgarians in single combat, to have wounded him, but not mortally, and to have forced his nation to submit to humbling conditions of peace[1].

Theodoricus Triarii again in revolt, 481.

Two years later (481) the son of Triarius, now apparently again in open enmity to Zeno, having obtained some successes against these Hunnish-Bulgarian allies of the Empire, drew near to the gates of Constantinople. He had all but succeeded in taking it, in which case perhaps the Eastern Empire would have survived her sister of the West only five years. But either the bravery of Illus[2], or a cleverly fomented conspiracy among his own followers[3], ob-

[1] This appears to be the meaning of an obscure and windy paragraph in Ennodius' Panegyric on Theodoric (Migne's Patrologia, lxiii. 171).

[2] This is the cause alleged by Joan. Ant. (p. 619).

[3] This is the account of Evagrius, iii. 25.

tained for the capital a fortunate reprieve. The Goth moved across the harbour to Galata; made another attempt, which again failed; marched ten miles up the Bosporus, thinking to cross over into Bithynia; was worsted in a naval engagement, and then moved westwards into Thrace, meditating an expedition into the comparatively undevastated regions of Greece. He rode at the head of thirty thousand Goths; and his wife Sigilda, his two brothers, and his son Recitach accompanied him. We see that in his case, as in that of the other Theodoric, of Alaric, and no doubt of many another Teutonic chieftain, the march of the general meant also the migration of his family.

Death of Theodoricus Triarii.

Moving along the Egnatian Way, they had reached a place on the Thracian coast more than 200 miles from Constantinople, which, in memory of that savage Thracian king who in the days of Hercules used to feed his horses on human flesh, still bore the name of *The Stables of Diomed.* Here the chief, one day wishing to take some exercise, ordered his horse to be brought to his tent-door. In those days, before the invention of stirrups, a Roman noble generally mounted with the assistance of a groom [1]. The son of Triarius, however, though probably past middle life, disdained such effeminate habits, and always vaulted to his seat unaided. This time, however, before he was fairly astride of his horse, the creature, which was wild and mettlesome, reared up in the air and danced about on its hind legs [2]. Theodoric tried to get the

[1] Ἀναβολεύς, *strator.* It was in this capacity that the haughty Persian king, Sapor, made use of the captive emperor Valerian.

[2] Ὁ δὲ (ἵππος) ἀγελαῖός τις ὢν καὶ ὑβριστὴς . . . μετεωρίζει τῷ πρόσθε ποδί, τῷ ὀπισθίῳ μόνῳ ἀκροβατῶν. Even the Greek words suggest the idea of a horse in a circus.

BOOK IV. CH. 3. 481.

mastery of the horse, but did not dare to grasp the bridle lest he should pull it over upon him. Rider and horse, thus swaying backwards and forwards, came up to the tent-door, before which a spear with a thong fitted to it was hanging, in the fashion of the barbarians. Jostled by his unruly steed against the spear, the chief was pierced by it in his side and forced to dismount. He took to his bed, and soon after died of the wound. Henceforward the undisputed right to the name Theodoric passes over to his Amal rival[1].

Dissensions in his family.

Sigilda, wife of the dead chief, buried her husband by night. Dissensions broke out in his family. His two brothers tried to grasp the leadership and to oust his son, relying perhaps in part on a rumour which strangely obtained currency, that the death which has been so minutely described was, after all, not accidental, but that Recitach, indignant at having received personal chastisement from his father, had repaid the insult by parricide. The lad, however, bided his time. Before long he deprived his uncles of life, and grasped the leadership of the thirty thousand followers of his father—a leadership which he employed to inflict yet more cruel sufferings on the provincials of Thrace than those which they had endured at his father's hands[2].

Recitach his son slain by Theodoric.

After this he must have been reconciled to the Empire (there is a wearisome inconstancy both in the friendships and the enmities of these guerilla chiefs),

[1] The death of Theodoric is described with great minuteness by Evagrius (probably quoting from Eustathius), iii. 25. The above account is taken almost verbatim from him.

[2] Joannes Antiochenus, pp. 619–620.

for the last information that we have concerning him is that the Emperor Zeno, perceiving that Recitach was becoming disaffected through envy of Theodoric, ordered the Gothic king to destroy him, which he accordingly did, 'although Recitach was his cousin, having an old grudge against him because of the murder of his ——'. (A defect in the MS. leaves us in doubt as to the nature of this old grievance.) Theodoric fulfilled the bloody commission by piercing his young rival under the fifth rib when he was on his way from the bath to the banquet[1]. The murder of Recitach is one of the few blots on the generally fair fame of Theodoric.

BOOK IV. CH. 3. 484.

By the extinction of the house of Triarius, the Amal became the undisputed head of the Gothic nation in the Eastern peninsula. Thirty thousand men were added to his army, but these implied more than thirty thousand mouths for which he must find provisions. It was impossible for him, at the head of his roving bands of hungry warriors, to settle down into an orderly, hard-working *magister militum* in Thrace. For six years following the death of his elder rival, he vibrated to and fro with apparent absence of purpose between Romanism—using the word in a political sense—and barbarianism. In 482 he laid waste the two Macedonias and Thessaly, and plundered Larissa the capital of the latter province. In 483, 'being almost appeased by the munificence of the Emperor Zeno' (says Count Marcellinus, nearly our only authority here), 'and being made *Magister Militiae Praesentis*, and designated as Consul for the

Theodoric vibrates between peace and war with the Empire, 481-487.

[1] 'In the suburb called Bonifaciana' (Jo. Ant. 620). I have not been able to identify this.

BOOK IV. CH. 3. 483. next year, he and his satellites kept for the time within bounds in the portion of Dacia Ripensis and Lower Moesia which had been allotted to him.' His head-quarters appear to have been Novae[1], on the Lower Danube. It is noteworthy that he was here within fifty miles of Nicopolis, the town which, 130 years before, had formed the centre of the settlement of the Lesser Goths who followed the guidance of 'their Moses,' the pure-souled and pious Ulfilas. Probably this portion of Moesia had never ceased to be strongly Gothic in the character of its population.

Theodoric Consul, 484. The next year (484) saw him in the full glory of *Consul Ordinarius*, wearing the toga, doubtless with the peculiar Gabine cincture which marked the Consulate, giving his name to the year, and liberating a slave by a stroke on the day of his inauguration. There are indications that now, at any rate, if not in the previous year, he took up his abode in Constantinople, and that his enjoyment of the pomps and luxuries of the capital, while his followers were suffering the pangs of hunger in their Danubian settlement, was not viewed with approbation by the Goths. They felt the contrast all the more keenly, since his authority, as became a consul and a *magister militum*, was strenuously exerted to check their old habits of plunder[2].

Revolt of Illus. It was in the year of Theodoric's consulship that he soiled his hands with the blood of his kinsman Recitach, and received the adhesion of his followers. It was in the same year that the revolt of Illus broke out. Theodoric was at first ordered to march for its suppression, but he had not proceeded further than

[1] Sistova? or Novograd?

[2] Historia Miscella, xv. 14.

Nicomedia in Bithynia, when the timid and suspicious Zeno recalled him and his Goths, and committed the imperial cause to the championship of his strange allies from the middle Danube, the Rugians, under the command of a son of Aspar. This evidence of distrust no doubt alienated the high-mettled Gothic king. In 486 he broke out into open revolt 486.
and ravaged a part of Thrace [1]; and in the following 487.
year with a large army (swollen no doubt by all the Triarian Goths) he came up to the very gates of Constantinople, and took the town of Melantias on the Sea of Marmora and only fourteen miles from the capital [2]. He found himself, like countless other generals before and after him, unable to take the city of Constantine; but, before he returned to his head-quarters at Novae, the citizens saw the flames ascending from many towns and villages, and knew that they were kindled by the followers of the man who but three years before had ridden through their streets as a Roman Consul.

Theodoric at the gates of Constantinople.

This endless vacillation between friendship and enmity to Rome was an unfruitful and unstatesmanlike policy; and we may be sure that Theodoric recognised the fact as clearly as any one. But the time was now ripe for the execution of another project, which would find full employment for all the warlike energies of his people, and which, if it succeeded, would give him a fixed and definite position among the rulers of the earth, and would exempt him from the necessity of marching up and down through the thrice-harried Thracian plains, to extort from the

[1] Joannes Antiochenus, p. 621.

[2] Marcellinus Comes, s. a.

BOOK IV. CH. 8.

wretched provincials food for his almost equally wretched followers.

488. Scheme for the invasion of Italy (Gothic version).

The scheme shall first be told in the words of Jordanes, who without doubt is here quoting from Cassiodorus, the friend and minister of Theodoric: 'Meanwhile Theodoric, who was bound by covenant to the Empire of Zeno, hearing that his nation, abiding as we have said in Illyricum [?], were not too well supplied with the necessaries of life while he was enjoying all the good things of the capital, and choosing rather, after the old manner of his race, to seek food by labour than to enjoy in luxurious idleness the fatness of the Roman realm while his people were living in hardship, made up his mind and spoke thus to the Emperor: "Though nothing is wanting to me for my service to your Empire, nevertheless, if Your Piety think fit, I pray you to hear freely the desire of my heart." Then, as was wont, leave was granted him to speak without reserve. "The Hesperian clime," said he, "which was formerly subject to the rule of your predecessors, and that city which was once the capital and mistress of the world,—why should they now be tossed to and fro under the usurped authority of a king of Rugians and Turcilingians? Send me thither, if it please you, with my people, that you may be relieved from the expense which we cause you here, and that there, if by the Lord's help I conquer, the fame of Your Piety may beam brightly forth. For it is fitting that I, your son and servant, if victorious, should hold that kingdom as your gift; but it is not fitting that he, whom you know not, should press his tyrannical yoke upon your Senate, and that a part of the Roman Republic should

languish in the bondage of captivity under him. In brief, if I conquer, I shall possess the land as of your gift and by your grant: if I am conquered, Your Piety will lose nothing, but rather, as before said, will save the heavy charges which we now bring upon you." On hearing this speech the Emperor, though sorry to part with Theodoric, yet not wishing to sadden him by a refusal, granted what he desired; and, after enriching him with great gifts, dismissed him from his presence, commending to his protection the Senate and People of Rome.'

Byzantine version.

This is the account of the transaction given by Jordanes. The Byzantine authorities put a slightly different colour upon it. *Procopius* says, 'The Emperor Zeno, a man skilful in expedients of a temporary kind[1], exhorted Theodoric to march to Italy, and, entering the lists against Odoacer, to win the Western Kingdom for himself and the Goths. He showed him that it was better for him, now especially that he had attained the dignity of Senator, by the overthrow of a tyrant to obtain the rule over all the Romans and Italians, than, by continuing the struggle with the Emperor, to run so many risks as he must do. Theodoric then, being pleased with the bargain, departed for Italy;' and so on.

The author who generally goes by the name of *Anonymus Valesii*, and who clearly writes from Byzantine sources and with a particular regard for the Emperor Zeno, says, 'Zeno therefore rewarded Theodoric with his favours, making him Patrician and

[1] It is difficult to translate τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι ἐπιστάμενος without seeming to convey more blame than Procopius perhaps intended.

BOOK IV. CH. 8.

Consul, bestowing on him a large sum and sending him to Italy. With whom Theodoric made a bargain that, if Odoachar should be conquered, he should reign in his stead as a reward for all his labours, but only until he [Zeno] should arrive [in Italy][1].'

Both partly true.

There is evidently a certain conflict of testimony as to the quarter from which the idea of a Gothic invasion of Italy first proceeded. Odovacar, as we shall see, had made himself obnoxious both to the Byzantine and the Goth. Theodoric's prolonged stay in the Danubian regions was a perpetual menace to Constantinople; and, whatever Jordanes may feign as to the Emperor's sorrow in parting with his adopted son, Zeno certainly desired few things more earnestly than that he might never see his face again; and Theodoric knew this. When matters have reached this point, when the guest has over-stayed his welcome, and both he and the host are keenly conscious of the fact, it may be difficult to say which first gives the signal for departure; and perhaps the means of escape from a position which each finds intolerable, may present itself simultaneously to both by a process of 'double independent discovery.' Only, in the idea of leading his nation away from the shores of the Danube, haunted by them for a hundred weary years, descending the Alps into Italy and founding an Ostrogothic kingdom on 'the Hesperian shore,' there is a touch of genius which disposes one to look for its conception, rather to the bright and vigorous young Amal king than to the tired brain of the imperial voluptuary.

[1] 'Cui Theodericus pactuatus est, ut, si victus fuisset Odoachar, pro merito laborum suorum loco ejus, dum adveniret tantum, praeregnaret.'

What were the rights of Theodoric and the Emperor?

More important than the question of priority of invention between Zeno and Theodoric is the uncertainty in which the rights of the contracting parties were, no doubt intentionally, left. The Goth asks the Emperor's leave to invade Italy. If Italy was recognised as permanently lost to the Roman Empire, if it was like Dacia or Britain, why was this leave necessary? He says that he will hold the new kingdom as his adoptive father's gift. Did that gift fasten any responsibilities to the receiver? Did it entitle the giver to be consulted in the subsequent disposal of the crown? Was it, to borrow an illustration from English law, like a gift 'for life,' or 'to him and the heirs of his body,' or 'to him and heirs general'? In feudal times a transaction such as this could hardly have taken place without the creation of a fief; but it is some centuries too soon as yet to talk of fiefs and vassals of the Empire.

All that we can say, apparently, is that Theodoric was despatched on his hazardous expedition with the imperial approval; that the future relations between the parties were left to accident to determine; but that there was, underlying the whole conversation, a recognition of the fact that Italy and Rome still formed part of the *Respublica Romana*; and out of this fact would spring claims which any *Imperator*, who was strong enough to do so, was certain to enforce.

Before we follow the march of Theodoric and his Goths across the mountains we must first consult our meagre authorities to ascertain what Odovacar has been doing, during the thirteen years that he has been undisputed lord of Italy.

CHAPTER IV.

FLAVIUS ODOVACAR.

Authorities.

Sources:—

BOOK IV. CH. 4.

OUR sources of information as to the reign of Odovacar are, as will be seen from the narrative, poverty itself. We get a few scattered notices, however, from PROCOPIUS, JORDANES, and ENNODIUS (in the Life of St. Epiphanius). The ANONYMUS VALESII and the letters of CASSIODORUS fill up a few gaps in our knowledge. MALCHUS and JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS give us our most valuable information as to the relations of Odovacar with the Eastern Court.

Guides:—

Tillemont, 'Hist. des Empereurs,' vi. 434–457. Dahn's 'Könige der Germanen,' ii. 35–50. Pallmann, 'Geschichte der Völkerwanderung,' vol. ii. Pallmann's defence of the government of Odovacar is the best thing in his book.

[For ecclesiastical matters the chief sources here are EVAGRIUS and LIBERATUS (a Carthaginian deacon of the sixth century, who wrote a short account of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies). NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS wrote his Ecclesiastical History in the fourteenth century, but seems to have used the works of nearly contemporary authors.

My guides have been Baronius; Hefele's 'Conciliengeschichte' (vol. ii); Bower's 'History of the Popes' (vol. ii); Gieseler's 'Compendium of Ecclesiastical History' (vol. ii); and Milman's 'History of Latin Christianity' (vol. i).]

THE humiliation of Rome was completed by the events recorded in the preceding volume. There was still, no doubt, a legal fiction according to which Rome

and Italy yet belonged to the Empire, and were under the dominion of the successor of Augustus, who reigned not in Old Rome by the Tiber, but in New Rome by the Thracian Bosporus. In fact, however, one will was supreme in Italy, the will of the tall barbarian who in sordid dress once strode into the cell of Severinus [1], the leader of the Herulian and Rugian mutineers, the conqueror of Pavia, ODOVACAR [2].

Position of Odovacar.

For thirteen years this soldier of fortune swayed with undisputed mastery the Roman state. He employed, no doubt, the services of Roman officials to work the machine of government. He paid a certain deference, on many occasions, to the will of his nominal superior, Zeno, the Emperor at Constantinople. He watched, we may be sure much more anxiously, the shifting currents of opinion among the rough mercenaries who had bestowed on him the crown, and on whom he had bestowed the third part of the lands of Italy. But, on the whole, and looking at the necessity of concentrated force in such a precarious state as that which the mercenaries had founded, we shall probably not be far wrong if we attribute to Odovacar the effective power, though of course he used not the name, of Autocrat.

Character of his government.

The highest praise that can be bestowed on the government of this adventurer from the Danubian lands is that we hear so little about it. Some hardship, perhaps even some violence, probably accompanied the compulsory expropriation of the Romans from one-third of the lands of Italy. There is some

[1] See vol. ii. p. 515.

[2] It will be seen, from the note at the end of this chapter, that this is the true contemporary spelling of the name.

reason for supposing, however, that this would be in the main only a loss of property, falling on the large landed proprietors. Where the land was being cultivated by *coloni*, bound to the soil and paying their fixed rent or their share of produce to the lord, no great visible change could probably be made. From motives of self-interest, and to gratify his warlike impatience of toil, the Rugian warrior, entering upon the ownership of his *sors*, would generally leave the tillage of the soil in the same hands in which he found it. To him, or rather to his bailiffs (*actores*), instead of to those of the luxurious Roman senator, the *coloni* would henceforward pay their dues, and that would be the whole visible outcome of the late revolution. It seems hardly likely that there can have been much gratuitous cruelty or actual bloodshed on the part of the soldiers of Odovacar, or we should surely have had some hint of it from one of the Byzantine historians. It ought, however, to be mentioned that Ennodius draws a somewhat gloomy picture of the financial oppression of Odovacar's reign; but his purpose of blackening the fallen king in order to glorify Theodoric is so obvious that we need attach but little weight to his testimony. Perhaps his best remark is that Odovacar's consciousness of his own lowly origin made him timid in the presence of his army, and prevented him from checking their excesses [1]. There are also some expressions in the letters of Pope Gelasius which

[1] This seems to be the meaning of 'Metuebat parentes exercitus, quem meminisse originis suae admonebat honor alienus; nam ire ad nutum suum legiones et remeare pavore algidus imperabat. Suspecta enim est obedientia quae famulatur indignis,' &c. (Panegyricus, p. 172, ed. Migne.)

hint at 'barbaric incursions' and 'the continual tempest of war[1]' that had afflicted Italy, but the language employed is extremely vague, and gives us rather the impression of words used to round off a rhetorical period than of a genuine cry of sorrow forced out of the writer by the sight of the misery of his people.

As far as Italy herself is concerned, this part of her annals is an absolute blank, not one of her own sons having said anything at all about it, at least not in a voice loud enough to reach posterity. This absolute extinction of the national consciousness, in a people which had once numbered among its sons a Livy and a Tacitus, is one of the strangest symptoms of the fifth century. But in truth it seems as if even for the chroniclers, who did in their way try to preserve some of the events of their age from oblivion, the Monophysite Controversy, to us so unintelligible and so wearisome, possessed a fascination which quite diverted their gaze from the portentous spectacle of a barbarian ruling in Italy. It would probably be safe to say that we have three allusions to Timotheus Aelurus, the militant Patriarch of Alexandria, for

[1] Epist. iii. to the Bishops of Dardania (assigned to the year 492): 'Ubi primum respirare fas est a continuorum tempestate bellorum, quae in illis provinciis, vel in istis temporibus qualitas incessanter exercuit, cunctos per Dardaniam Domini sacerdotes fraternae sollicitudinis caritate duximus alloquendos.'

Epist. vii (to the Bishops in Picenum): 'Barbaricis hactenus dolebamus incursibus maxime vicinas Urbi provincias et bellorum saeva tempestate vastari.'

This last letter is noticeable because there are several indications that the settlements, first of Odovacar's followers and afterwards of the Ostrogoths, were particularly numerous in Picenum.

BOOK IV. CH. 4.

every time that the name of Odovacar occurs in the pages of the chroniclers.

Loss of Provence.

In geographical extent, the dominions of Odovacar probably did not differ greatly from those of the Roman Emperors of the West during the last twenty-five years of their rule. It is true that Gaul was lost to him. The fair region which we now call Provence, nearly the earliest formed and quite the latest lost *Provincia* of Rome, that region in which the Latin spirit dwelt so strongly that the Roman nobles thought of migrating thither in 401, when Alaric first invaded Italy[1], refused to submit to the rule of the upstart barbarian. The Provençals sent an embassy to Constantinople to claim the protection of Zeno for the still loyal subjects of the Empire. Odovacar, however, sent his ambassadors at the same time, and again, as before, when the restoration of Nepos was in question, the representations of the new barbarian ruler of Italy prevailed. Zeno, we are told, 'rather inclined to the cause of Odovacar[2].' The latter however, who perhaps thought that he had enough upon his hands without forcing his yoke on the Provençals, made over his claim to Euric, king of the Visigoths, whose influence was at this time predominant in Gaul[3].

Recovery of Sicily.

Sicily, which had been for a generation subjected, first to the devastations and then to the rule of the

[1] See vol. i. p. 714.

[2] We get this important but obscurely described event from Candidus (as abstracted by Photius): Καὶ στασιασάντων αὐτῷ (Ὀδοάκρῳ) τῶν δυσμικῶν Γαλατῶν, διαπρεσβευσαμένων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὀδοάκρου πρὸς Ζήνωνα, Ὀδοάκρῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Ζήνων ἀπέκλινεν (ap. Müller, iv. 136).

[3] Procopius, De Bello Gothico, i. 12 (p. 64, ed. Bonn). The date of Euric's conquest of Provence is a much-disputed point.

Vandal king, was now by a formal treaty, which must have been nearly the last public act of Gaiseric, ceded to Odovacar, all but a small part, probably at the western end of the island, which the Vandal reserved to himself[1]. A yearly tribute was to be the price of this concession; but, in the decay of the kingdom under Gaiseric's successors, it is possible that this tribute was not rigorously enforced, as it is also almost certain that the reserved portion of the island, following the example of the remainder, owned the sway of Odovacar. BOOK IV. CH. 4.

The other great Italian islands, Sardinia and Corsica, as well as the Balearic isles, formed part of the maritime monarchy of the Vandals, and fell eventually, when it fell, under the sway of Byzantium.

Tight hold on Raetia.

North of the Alps, the dominion of Odovacar was probably more firmly established than had been that of any Italian ruler for a generation. It will be remembered that Raetia, the oblong block of territory which extended from the Alps to the Danube, formed, in the fourth and fifth centuries, a part of the 'Diocese' of Italia[2]. It seems likely that under Odovacar, himself an immigrant from the Danubian lands, and able to draw to his standard many of the bravest and strongest of the adventurers who then roved through that portion of 'Varbaricum,' the passes of the Alps may have been more strongly guarded, and Raetia

[1] Victor Vitensis, i. 4: 'Siciliam Odoacro Italiae regi . . . tributario jure concessit [Geisericus], ex qua ei Odoacer singulis quibusque temporibus ut domino tributa dependit, aliquam tamen sibi reservans partem.' The sense seems to require that *reservans* should qualify Geisericus: otherwise to couple it with Odoacer would have been the more natural construction.

[2] See vol. i. pp. 619 and 623.

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may have been more of an outpost for Italy, than it had been since the wave of westward migration, at the beginning of the fifth century, changed all the landmarks on the north-western frontier of the Empire. In fact, such indications as we have of the policy of Odovacar would dispose one to think that his face was turned towards the North rather than the South. Peace with the Vandals, peace, if not a very cordial peace, with Byzantium, with an energetic policy towards the Burgundians, Alamanni, Thuringians, Rugians, on whose settlements he looked down from his Raetian stronghold—this was probably the policy of the new kingdom. It accorded well herewith that, like Honorius, though not from the same motive of personal timidity, Odovacar fixed his residence at Ravenna rather than at Rome.

Conquest of Dalmatia, 481.

There came a favourable opportunity for enlarging his kingdom by an extension to the east of the Hadriatic. It will be remembered that Nepos, the exiled Emperor of the West, reigned for some years, apparently as legitimate Augustus, in the province of Dalmatia. As this province belonged to the Western Empire[1], he probably owned no subjection to his brother Emperor at Constantinople, nor confessed any other inferiority than such as the ruler of a small and precariously held state must have felt in the presence of the undoubted lord of Illyricum and the Orient. We have already met with his ambassadors at the Court of Byzantium vainly entreating one legitimate Emperor to restore the other to his rightful position[2]; and we also more recently have heard the offer of Theodoric the Amal to restore Nepos, if Zeno so

[1] See vol. i. p. 677.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 525–527.

willed, to the Western throne[1]. No effectual help, however, was ever really rendered by Zeno to his dethroned kinsman, and in the year 480, as has been already related[2], Nepos fell by the traitorous blows of the Counts Viator and Ovida at his villa near Salona[3]. In the following year Odovacar transported an army into Dalmatia, conquered and slew Count Ovida[4],—perhaps Viator had already fallen in some robber's quarrel over the division of the plunder,—and thus avenged the death of Nepos. There can be no doubt that the result of this campaign was the annexation of Dalmatia to the dominions of Odovacar, though this fact is not expressly asserted by the annalists[5].

It is worthy of remark that the Byzantine historian Procopius[6], who probably gives the strict legitimist view of the reign of Odovacar, does not consider that reign to have commenced till the death of Nepos, and thus reduces to ten years an interval which, according to the *de facto* view generally adopted by historians, lasted at least fourteen[7].

[1] See the preceding chapter. The words of Malchus are, Ἕτοιμος δέ, εἰ προστάξειε βασιλεύς, καὶ εἰς Δαλματίαν ἀπελθεῖν, ὡς Νέπωτα κατάξων (p. 129, ed. Müller).

[2] Vol. ii. p. 501.

[3] 'Nepos, quem dudum Orestes imperio abdicaverat. Viatoris et Ovidae comitum suorum insidiis, haud longe a Salonis, sua in villa occisus est' (Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 480).

[4] 'Hoc consule Odoacer in Dalmatiis Odivam [sic] vincit et perimit' (Cassiodorus, s. a. 481).

[5] See the Deed of Gift to Pierius at the end of this chapter, in which Odovacar bestows on Pierius the island of Meleda off the coast of Dalmatia.

[6] De Bello Gotthico, i. 1: Τὴν τυραννίδα ἐς ἔτη ἐκρατύνετο δέκα.

[7] From 476 to 490, when Odovacar was finally shut up in Ravenna. Seventeen years (476 to 493) if we reckon to his death. This observation is made by Pallman, ii. 351.

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From this survey of foreign affairs we pass, to consider the internal condition of his kingdom.

Death of Count Bracila, 477.

In the first year after he had attained to supreme power he put to death a certain Count Bracila at Ravenna [1]. From the form of the name we should have supposed that this was some barbarian rival, anxious to win the favour of the soldiery and to serve Odovacar as Odovacar had served Orestes. But Jordanes, whose statements, in the great dearth of authentic information, we cannot afford utterly to despise, tells us that it was done 'that he might strike terror into the *Romans* [2].' Perhaps, as it had been with Stilicho the Vandal and with Ricimer the Sueve, so now was it with Bracila, the son of some unknown German princeling, that the cause of Rome was most stubbornly maintained by some conspicuous soldier not himself of Roman blood.

Polity of the kingdom.

Possibly the Teutonic adherents of the new ruler, dwelling on the lands wrested from the old possessors and assigned to them, may still have been governed by their old tribal laws, and may have preserved some remains of their tribal organization. Analogy points to this as a probable conclusion, but we have absolutely no information on the subject. There is no doubt however that, for the great mass of the inhabitants of Italy, the old order of things remained unchanged. Justice was still administered according to Roman laws by Roman magistrates. The taxes of the Empire were still collected by Roman *Rationales*. There

[1] Marcellinus, s. a. 477; Jordanes, De Reb. Get. xlvi.

[2] 'Interea Odoacer rex gentium omnem Italiam subjugatam *ut terrorem suum Romanis injiceret*, mox initio regni sui Braciliam comitem apud Ravennam occidit;' Jord. De Reb. Get. xlvi.

were still Praetorian Prefects, Counts of the Sacred Largesses, Counts of the Domestics, Masters of the Offices, and all the rest of the administrative and courtly hierarchy introduced by Diocletian and fully developed under Constantine. Only, the centre and mainspring of all this elaborate organisation was no longer a Roman imperator, but a nondescript barbarian chief, King in relation to his followers, Patrician in his dealings with the Senate, a man not wearing the imperial purple nor crowned with the diadem [1], a man who could do everything in Italy except say by what right he ruled there.

Odovacar's ministers.

One proof that the time of Odovacar's kingship was no mere revel of barbaric licence and anarchy is furnished by the names of Roman administrators —men of high character and position—who served him in the affairs of the state [2]. Chief among these we must place *Liberius.* We are not informed of the precise position which he occupied at this time, but from the terms, honourable both to the praiser and the praised, in which his faithful services to Odovacar are recounted by that king's successful rival, we may infer that it was a prominent one [3].

Liberius.

Cassiodorus (Senior).

Another name with which we are already familiar, that of *Cassiodorus,* also emerges into notice in this reign. But, though some historians have been of a different opinion, it is now generally admitted that

[1] 'Nomenque regis Odoacer assumpsit, cum tamen nec purpura nec regalibus uteretur insignibus;' Cassiod. Chronicon, s. a. 476.

[2] Pallmann (Völkerwanderung, ii. 332) dwells, as he has a right to do, on the attestation thus furnished to the civilised character of Odovacar's rule.

[3] See Cassiodori Variarum, ii. 16.

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it was not 'Cassiodorus Senator,' the minister of Theodoric and historian of the Goths, but his *father* who held office under Odovacar. The scanty details of the father's political career will be best reserved till we come to deal with the pedigree and the character of his illustrious son. It may be mentioned, however, that he seems to have successively filled the two great financial offices of Count of the Private Domains and Count of the Sacred Largesses [1].

Pierius.

Pierius, who was *Comes Domesticorum* or Captain of the Guard under Odovacar, was employed to superintend a certain transportation of Roman inhabitants from Noricum to Campania, which will be described in the next chapter. It is an interesting fact that there is still extant a deed of gift from Odovacar to this trusted minister. As the document throws some useful light on the internal condition of Italy at this period, and is really the only authentic record of the reign that we possess, it is transcribed in full at the end of this chapter [2].

Pelagius.

Pelagius, who filled the high office of Praetorian Prefect, does not show so fair a record as some of the other ministers of Odovacar. We hear his name only from Ennodius, the biographer of Epiphanius, the saintly bishop of Ticinum, and he assures us that the province of Liguria groaned under his oppressive exercise of the right of *coemptio*, meaning probably the royal prerogative of buying provisions for the army at a fixed price below the market value. By this extortion, which Ennodius attributes to 'the

[1] For some account of the duties of these offices see vol. i. pp. 616 and 611.

[2] See Note B, On the Deed of Gift to Pierius.

long-concealed but at length forth-blazing ardour of the malice of Pelagius,' but which probably proceeded simply from the poverty of the exchequer, the *possessores* of Liguria found that their taxes, already unendurable, were virtually doubled, and the province was brought to the brink of ruin[1]. Epiphanius, that embodiment of good-nature, whose good offices as mediator were perpetually being invoked on behalf of some injured person or class, was appealed to by the half-desperate Ligurian 'possessors,' set off with alacrity for the court, and obtained, probably after a personal interview with Odovacar, a remission of the obnoxious imposts.

Mission of St. Epiphanius.

Nor was this the only concession made by the exchequer of the barbarian king to the prayers of the Bishop. Epiphanius had devoted himself to the rebuilding of the two churches of Ticinum (Pavia), both of which, as was previously told[2], had perished in the sack of the city by the revolted mercenaries. Notwithstanding the poverty of his ravaged diocese, and the opposition of 'that crafty serpent,' the devil, to whose agency his biographer attributes the fall of the colonnaded wall of one of the churches[3], the Bishop succeeded in raising both edifices, in a marvellously

Relief of citizens of Ticinum.

[1] 'Nam coemptionum enormitate gravissima tributa duplicabat, reddebatque onus geminum, quod simplex sustinere non poterat' (Vita S. Epiphanii, p. 224, ed. Migne). Though *comparatio* is the technical word for what our lawyers call 'purveyance' (see Cod. Th. xi. 15), *coemptio* is also used for it (Cod. Th. xiv. 16. 3), and I have no doubt that it bears that meaning here.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 521.

[3] 'Extemplo alterius ecclesiae tum columnatus repente paries *impulsu callidi serpentis* ejectus est.' The 'columnatus paries' is well illustrated by the earliest churches of Rome and Ravenna.

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short space of time, to their old height, and perhaps in restoring them to their former splendour. An accident which occurred in the progress of the work, the fall of the workmen with a large hoisting machine from the very cupola of the second church[1], raised the Bishop's fame to a yet greater height, since the people attributed it to his prayers, efficacious to delay the ruin and to check the falling stones in mid-air, that not a bone of one of the workmen was broken. Epiphanius, however, considerately remembered that the restoration of the ecclesiastical glories of his city would not repair the ruined fortunes of its inhabitants,—perhaps even he had been forced to solicit for the purpose contributions which were as hardly spared as the widow's mite, —and he therefore appealed for aid to Odovacar, who directed that Ticinum should enjoy a five years' exemption from tribute. The biographer adds that of all the citizens the Bishop who had obtained the boon reaped the least benefit from it, so modest was he in putting forward his own claims for exemption[2].

Attitude towards the Popes.

Such benefits, granted by the barbarian and heretical king at the request of the Catholic bishop, are honourable to both parties. But there are not wanting indications that, in his attitude towards the head of Catholic Italy, towards the Bishop of Rome himself, Odovacar exhibited the same spirit of wise and dignified toleration which during the larger part of his reign was

[1] 'Ab ipso templi tholo artifices cum ingenti machina corruerunt: nullus tamen eorum aut crure debilis factus est, aut aliqua membrorum parte truncatus.' We have another interesting architectural hint in the word 'tholus' (cupola).

[2] I presume that this is the meaning of 'ad quae beneficia per singulos dispertienda, tanta se castitate continuit, ut nemo ex his minus acciperet, quam is quo fuerant impetrante concessa.'

the glory of his great successor. Though the detailed history of the Popes lies outside of the scope of this work, some pages must be devoted to the position and character of the Pontiffs who witnessed the establishment of barbarian rule in Italy.

Pope Hilarus, 461–467.

The stately Leo, the tamer of Attila and the hammer of Eutychian heretics, died on the 10th of November, 461, and was succeeded by *Hilarus* the Sardinian. The pontificate of Hilarus, which lasted nearly six years, was chiefly occupied with attempts to assert the Papal supremacy over the Churches of Gaul and Spain in a more despotic style than had yet been possible. These attempts were successful. It is a marvellous sight to see how, as the political power of Rome over the provinces of the Empire ebbs away, the ecclesiastical power of her bishop increases. The Tribune and the Centurion disappear, but the Legate of the Pope comes oftener, and is a mightier personage each time of his return. So, too, with the outward splendour of the Papal Court: it grows brighter as that of the Caesars wanes. A long page in the Lives of the Popes is filled with the catalogue of the costly gifts of gold and silver offered by Pope Hilarus, chiefly in the three oratories which he erected in the Lateran Basilica. The names of these vessels (to us scarcely intelligible), their shapes, their weights, are recorded with tedious minuteness by the enthusiastic scribe[1]. But, as has been well observed[2], these gifts, purchased with the revenues of the spacious and ever-increasing Church domains, were almost a satire on the general poverty of the city. While the life of the citizens was growing

[1] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, ap. Muratori, iii. 120.

[2] By Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom, i. 222–3.

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harder and the civil edifices were every year putting on more of the appearance of squalor and desolation, the shrines of martyrs and saints were glowing with ever-fresh splendour before the eyes—shall we say the envious, or the awe-stricken eyes—of the Christian Quirites.

Toleration resisted. 467.

Pope Hilarus also made his mark on his times by withstanding a faint attempt at toleration made by the secular power. The Emperor Anthemius was darkly suspected of plotting, in concert with a certain citizen of Rome named Severus, a restoration of the worship of the gods of the Capitol[1]. This was perhaps mere calumny; but what was undoubted was that he was accompanied to Rome by Philotheus, an asserter of the Macedonian heresy and a denier of the divinity of the Holy Ghost. At the instigation of this Philotheus, Anthemius proposed to allow full liberty to all the sects to hold their conventicles in Rome. But the aged Hilarus, who was within a few months of his end (for he died in September 467, only five months after Anthemius' triumphal entry), thundered with so loud and clear a voice in St. Peter's against the proposed act of toleration, that the Emperor was obliged to relinquish his design and to pledge himself by a solemn oath to the Pontiff never to resume it[2].

[1] Damascius, ap. Photium, Cod. ccxlii. (Migne, Patrol. ciii. 1266 and 1275).

[2] We learn this from the letter of Pope Gelasius to the Bishops of Dardania (Migne, Patrol. lix. 74): 'Sanctae memoriae quoque papa Hilarus Anthemium imperatorem, cum Philotheus Macedonianus ejus familiaritate suffultus diversarum conciliabuta nova sectarum in urbem vellet inducere, apud beatum Petrum apostolum palam ne id fieret clara voce constrinxit, in tantum ut non ea facienda cum interpositione sacramenti idem promitteret Imperator.'

The successor of Hilarus, Pope Simplicius, presided over the Church fifteen years, and in that time saw some great events. He witnessed the deposition of Augustulus, and the accession to supreme power in Italy of a Teutonic mercenar He heard also of an event far more important in the eyes of the chroniclers of the time, the publication of the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno, that document wherein an emperor, by his sole authority, without the sanction of pope or council, endeavoured to fix the land-marks of Christian belief and to terminate the Monophysite controversy. The long pontificate of Simplicius was chiefly occupied by his struggles for ascendency against the able but somewhat unscrupulous Patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius. This struggle prepared the way for, and perhaps necessitated, the first great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, which was opened under his successor.

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Pope Simplicius, 468–483.

476.

482.

In this struggle we are bound to remember that there was an element of self-defence mingled with all the aggressiveness of the Roman Pontiffs. Looking back through the dim vista of the middle ages at the steady and resistless growth of the papal power—a growth lasting over far distant centuries which, we are inclined to say, never conspired together for one single end as they did for this,—we perhaps sometimes overrate the distinctness of vision wherewith the individual pontiffs saw the goal to which they were tending, while we underrate the actual pressure of cares and perils in each successive generation by which they were surrounded. Thus, for instance, at the point of time which we have now reached, in the last quarter of the fifth century from the birth of Christ, it might

Struggle for primacy with Constantinople.

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sometimes seem a doubtful matter to contemporary opinion whether the Roman See would not have to descend from the high place of its dominion at the head of the Christian world. It was true that the person of the Pope was exalted by the humiliation and the eventual disappearance of the Western Caesar[1]; but the see was in some danger of sharing the fallen fortunes of the city in which it was placed. Whatever might be the precise degree of support which they derived from the theory of an apostolical succession from Peter and an heirship of his power of the keys, it will not be disputed that in fact the position of the Popes at the centre of gravity of the Roman world, in the one great city to which all roads converged, enormously smoothed the way for their advance to the undisputed primacy of the Church. The whole constitution of the new religious community imitated that of the great political system in which it found itself imbedded; and, like it, depended on the recognition of great cities as centres of life and power for the countries in which they were situated. The Bishop of Antioch was head of all the Churches of Syria. The Bishop of Alexandria was head of all the Churches of Egypt. It was only natural, in the second and third centuries, that the Bishop of Rome should be head of all the Churches of the Roman Empire, which was practically conterminous with Christendom. Had Peter lived and died at Bethsaida, it is possible that the primacy of the Christian Church might have been claimed for the bishopric of Bethsaida: it is certain that the claim

[1] This obvious result of the events of 476 has been touched upon in a previous volume, ii. 531.

would not have met with so easy nor so world-wise acceptance.

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Elements of weakness in the Papal position.

Since, then, the position of the Roman bishops in the forefront of the Christian Church was originally connected so closely with the political ascendency of their city, it was possible, now that political ascendency was lost, that ecclesiastical supremacy might go with it. And, if the Pope lost his primacy, to no see was he more likely to lose it than to the pushing, ambitious, powerful see of Constantinople; that see whose representatives were ever at the ear of the Emperor, moulding the ecclesiastical policy of his reign; that see whose splendour was beheld by all the strangers who visited the New Rome; that see which already, in the course of little more than a century, had acquired the primacy first of Thrace, then of Pontus and Asia; that see which had just succeeded in accomplishing the subjection of the Patriarch of Antioch, and was now profiting by the religious wrangles of the Egyptians to reduce to similar dependence him of Alexandria[1].

Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, 471–489.

Of all the many able and somewhat unscrupulous men who ever stood in the *ambo* of the great church at Constantinople perhaps none was cleverer and none bolder than Acacius. We have already seen him[2] opposing the usurper Basiliscus, restoring Zeno, and guiding the pen of that Emperor as he traced the characters of the great Henoticon, that instru-

[1] These successive aggrandisements of the See of Constantinople are traced by Bower (Hist. of the Popes, ii. 64–68). A reference to the maps in my first volume (at p. 185 and p. 237) will make his statements somewhat clearer.

[2] See chap. ii.

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ment which, as he no doubt hoped, would be looked back to by posterity as a more triumphant 'End of Controversy' than the *Tome* which the great Leo himself had presented to the fathers of Chalcedon. Now that our point of view is transferred to Rome from Constantinople, we can perhaps see a little more clearly what reasons Acacius had, apart from any deep spiritual interest of his own in the subject-matter of the controversy, for desiring its settlement on the basis of the Henoticon. The Council of Chalcedon had by its twenty-eighth canon (a canon passed, it is said, after the departure of Leo's legates and of the majority of the bishops) rested the primacy of Old Rome solely on the political ground, making no mention of the commission to Peter, and had assigned the same prerogatives to the Bishop of New Rome, leaving apparently but an honorary precedence to the Bishop of the elder capital[1]. Since this was the judgment of Chalcedon, a judgment which, when the grounds of it were considered, would evidently, in a very few years, through the political changes that were going forward, give the see of Constantinople priority over that of Rome itself, the authority of the Council of Chalcedon must be upheld, and therefore neither Basiliscus nor any

[1] 'Rightly did the Fathers concede its privileges to the throne of the Elder Rome, because that city bears royal sway. And influenced by the same aim, the 150 most religious bishops [assembled at Chalcedon] have allotted the same privileges to the most holy throne of the New Rome, rightly judging that the city which is honoured by the presence of the Emperor and the Senate, and which in political matters enjoys the same privileges as the elder Queen-City, ought also in ecclesiastical affairs to be glorified as she is, being second after her.'

other emperor should be allowed to lapse into mere Monophysitism. But, on the other hand, since the good-will of the occupants of the thrones of Antioch and Alexandria was necessary to the success of the designs of Acacius, since the doctrine of the single nature of Christ was popular in those capitals and the name of the Council of Chalcedon was abhorred by very many, it would be wise to readmit them to communion by a scheme which should avoid the actual mention of the double nature of Christ and the express ratification of the decrees of the Third Council. With this object the Henoticon was framed, and for a generation or two seemed likely to be successful. In this, as in most ecclesiastical controversies, words were the all-important things. The personal vanity of the combatants must be conciliated, their pretensions to knowledge of Divine things must be respected: if these could be saved harmless, the faith might take care of itself.

Struggle of Simplicius with Acacius.

Of course, just as much interest as Acacius Bishop of Constantinople had in upholding the Henoticon, just so much had Simplicius Bishop of Rome in destroying it, and the troubles of the see of Alexandria afforded him a useful lever for the purpose. Timothy the Weasel was dead. His rival, the other 477.
Timothy, called Solofaciolus, died five years later. 482.
Acacius determined to put Peter the Stammerer, a well-known follower of the Weasel's, on the episcopal throne of Alexandria, the Henoticon being the basis of union between the two Churches, by the Bosporus and by the Nile. At first the plan succeeded. Peter the Stammerer subscribed the Henoticon, reigned as bishop at Alexandria, and was during his

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eight years' episcopate the useful tool of his Byzantine benefactor. But there was a rival candidate for the see, one John Talaias, who had been actually elected on the death of Timothy, but who had, so it was said, solemnly sworn to Zeno that he would never accept the dignity. He was also charged with simony and with misappropriation of the treasures of the Church. What was more undoubted, and perhaps more to the point, was that he was a friend and dependent of Illus, who was now falling into disgrace at Constantinople, and was indeed on the very verge of rebellion. All these circumstances made it easy for Acacius to nullify the election of Talaias and drive him into exile from Alexandria. He fled, however, to Rome, and there, in Pope Simplicius, found a willing listener to all his grievances against the Patriarch of Constantinople. Once, twice, even four times did Simplicius write to Acacius insisting more and more peremptorily that he should withdraw from the communion of Peter the Stammerer, that rebel against the decrees of Chalcedon, and should not hinder the return of Talaias to his see. Acacius had not the courtesy to reply to any of these letters. While affairs were still in this position the fifteen years' pontificate of Simplicius came to an end.

Death of Simplicius.

He died on the 2nd of March, 483, and his relics are still exhibited to the people once a year in his native town of Tivoli. The Pope who, born by the waters of 'headlong Anio,' had doubtless as a boy often wandered through the vast villa of Hadrian, then still in its original glory, had lived to see Rome itself, the Rome of Horace and of Hadrian, pass under the yoke of a petty chieftain of Herulian mercenaries.

Singular decrees of Odovacar,

On the death of Simplicius[1], when the clergy and people of Rome were assembled in the church of St. Peter to elect his successor, one of the Roman ministers of King Odovacar made his appearance among them. This was Basilius, perhaps the same Caecina Basilius whom Sidonius had chosen for his patron twenty-six years before, when he visited Rome[2], and whose somewhat reserved but honest character he described in writing to his friends. He now filled the office of Praetorian Prefect to the barbarian King—another indication that in the civil government of Italy Odovacar retained the forms of the imperial hierarchy of office unaltered. Addressing the assembled multitude, Basilius informed them that they must not presume to elect a new Bishop of Rome without the concurrence of his master. This announcement probably only meant that all such rights, not of nomination but of veto, as the emperors had wielded previously to 476, must now be deemed to have survived to Odovacar. But he then proceeded to read a decree forbidding the new Pope, whoever he might be, to alienate any of the lands or ornaments of the Roman Church, and in case of disobedience, threatening the buyer with civil penalties, and the seller—strange menace from a layman and an Arian—with the spiritual penalty of anathema. We know nothing of any special proceedings of Simplicius which may have prompted this decree. It seems to have been accepted without murmuring at the time, though, nineteen years after, it was

as to election of new Pope,

and alienation of Church property.

[1] The decree about the Papal election was drawn up before the death of Simplicius, but may not have been communicated to the people till after that event.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 457.

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denounced by a similar assembly held in the same place, as an unhallowed interference on the part of a lay ruler with the affairs of the Church, and the assembled clergy with difficulty, while the decree was being read, restrained their indignation at the insolent tone of the fallen layman who had dared to interfere with a priest's monopoly of anathema [1].

Pope Felix II (III), 483-492. Embassy to Constantinople.

The new Pope, Felix II [2], threw himself heartily into the quarrel with Constantinople. He sent two legates, Vitalis and Misenus, with a letter to the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, haughtily commanding them to desist from all further proceedings in the matter of the recognition of Peter the Stammerer. The legates were imprisoned as soon as they arrived at the Hellespont, their papers were taken from them, and they were threatened with death unless they would obey the Emperor's orders and recognise Peter as Patriarch of Alexandria. On the other hand, gifts and promotion were to be theirs if they complied with the imperial mandate. The legates, who were evidently weak and timid men, submitted to the coercion and the blandishments of the dread Augustus, and communicated with Acacius at a solemn festival at which the name of the Stammerer was read in the Diptychs, or tablets containing the roll-call of orthodox prelates in communion with the see of Constantinople. By this concession they of course surrendered the whole matter in dispute. Their master, Felix, was informed of this disloyalty by his

[1] I take my account of this decree from Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, ii. 644.

[2] Called by some writers Felix III. The difference arises from the doubt whether Felix II (so called), the rival of Liberius (355-365), was a regularly chosen Pope or not.

faithful allies, the so-called 'sleepless' monks of Constantinople, who, perhaps from pure conviction, were passionate adherents of the Council of Chalcedon. On the return of his legates he held a synod at Rome (no doubt attended only by Italian bishops), and therein condemned the traitorous conduct of his legates, deposed them from their sees, and even excluded them from the holy Table. He went further, and the Council accompanied him. By an unheard-of stretch of power they condemned Acacius as a promoter of heresy, pronounced him deposed from his episcopal office, and cut him off 'as a putrid limb' from the body of the Church[1].

484.

Excommunication of Acacius.

Next came the question by whom this sentence was to be served on the object of it, on the great Acacius, in all his pride of place and strong in the favour of his sovereign. Tutus, a *Defensor* of the Church, was despatched on this errand; and, notwithstanding the vigilance of the imperial guards, arrived in safety at Constantinople. There monkish fanaticism relieved him of the most dangerous part of his task. 'One of the Sleepless ones fastened the fatal parchment to the dress of Acacius as he was about to officiate in the church. Acacius quietly proceeded in the holy ceremony. Suddenly he paused: with calm, clear voice he ordered the name of Felix, Bishop of Rome, to be struck out of the roll of bishops in communion with his Church. The ban of Rome was encountered by the ban of Constantinople[2].'

The sentence served on Acacius.

[1] Mansi, Concilia, vii. 1140.

[2] I have taken a few sentences here from Milman's History of Latin Christianity. I have some doubts, however, whether the scene of the counter-anathema was quite so dramatic as he

BOOK IV. CH. 4. Some of the monks who had dared to affix such a stigma on the all-powerful Patriarch were killed by his indignant followers, others were wounded, and the rest were shut up in prison[1].

The schism begun. This scene in the great Church of the Divine Wisdom at Constantinople was the commencement of the first great schism between the Eastern and 484-519. Western Churches,—a schism which lasted thirty-five years, and covered almost the whole period of the reign of Theodoric. Several overtures towards reconciliation were made. One by one all the chief actors in the scene were removed by death, Acacius in 489, Zeno in 491, Felix in 492. But the see of Rome was inflexible; she might 'spare the fallen,' but she would 'war down the proud[2].' There could be no peace with Byzantium till the name of Acacius, who had dared to strike a Roman pontiff out of the diptychs, was struck out of the diptychs itself, nor till Peter the Stammerer's accursed name was also expunged: all which did not take place till the year 519.

It is possible that the quarrel between the two sees of Rome and Constantinople reacted on the political relations of Italy and the Empire. It is certain that these relations became rapidly more unfriendly soon after the mutual excommunication of the pontiffs, and continued so till the end of the reign of Odovacar.

describes. Theophanes (eighth century) seems to be the only authority for this version of the story. Contemporary writers, Liberatus and Nicephorus, are colder and less pictorial.

[1] Nicephorus, Eccl. Hist. xvi. 17.

[2] 'Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.'

Zeno's attitude towards Odovacar.

At the outset it is probable that Zeno did not view the Teutonic mercenary's accession to power with any great dissatisfaction. In Augustulus he could have no interest: for his kinsman Nepos his sympathy was of a very languid character. His vanity was flattered by the fact[1] that 'all the ornaments of the palace,' including no doubt the diadem and the purple robe, were sent by Odovacar to Constantinople. The story of the embassies from Italy to Byzantium told by Malchus[2] illustrates that aspect of the case in which it was possible for the Eastern Caesar to look upon the recent events in Italy with not unmingled dissatisfaction. It was not unpleasant to hear from the lips of a Roman Senator that Italy did not need a separate royalty, since Zeno's own imperial sway would suffice for both ends of the earth. And, however little the facts of the case might correspond with this deferential theory, Odovacar suing with some humility for the title of Patrician, Odovacar representing himself as in some sort a lieutenant of the Emperor, presented a not unwelcome spectacle to the imperial vanity. Add to this, that at any rate for the first three or four years of the reign of Zeno, Onoulf the brother of Odovacar, the client and the assassin of Harmatius, was a soldier of fortune about the Court, probably a connecting link between the Augustus and his brother. We can thus understand why, down to about 480 or 481, the Courts of Ravenna and of Constantinople may have regarded one another with no very unfriendly feelings.

The conquest of Dalmatia may have told both ways on this friendly relation. The barbarian's promptitude 481.

[1] Vouched for by the Anonymus Valesii, § 64.

[2] See vol. ii. pp. 525–527.

BOOK IV. CH. 4.

in avenging the death of her cousin Nepos would recommend him to the favour of the Empress Ariadne; but, on the other hand, by the addition of Dalmatia to his dominions he became a disagreeably near neighbour to the lord of the Lower Danube.

484. Then came, almost contemporaneously and not unconnected with one another, the schism between the two sees and the revolt of Illus. John Talaias, the fugitive patriarch of Alexandria, the client of the Roman popes, was, as we have seen, also a client of Illus, and may very probably have been the medium of communications between that general and Odovacar. Onoulf also, perhaps at this time, quitted the service of Zeno, since three years later we find him commanding his brother's armies in Noricum. But, as our information concerning this alienation between the Emperor and the King is very meagre, and is all furnished by one author (Joannes Antiochenus), it will be best to give it in his own words:—

Understanding between Illus and Odovacar.

'Illus therefore, having gone into open revolt, proclaimed Marcian Emperor, and sent to Odoacer the *tyrannus* of Western Rome, and to the rulers of Persia and Armenia: and he also prepared a navy. Odoacer, however, replied that he could not ally himself with him, but the others promised alliance as soon as he could join his forces with theirs[1].'

Joannes then describes the revolt of Illus, its early successes and subsequent decline, and continues:—

'In the consulship of Longinus [486, two years after the date of the previous extract], when Theodoric was again disposed for revolt and was ravaging the dis-

[1] Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214 (p. 620 in the 4th vol. of Müller).

tricts round Thrace, Zeno stirred up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians, since he was apprised that the latter was making arrangements to ally himself with Illus. But when Odoacer's troops had obtained a brilliant victory [over the Rugians], and moreover had sent gifts to Zeno out of the spoils, he disclaimed his allies and professed satisfaction with what had been done[1].'

Embroilment with the Rugians.

The story of the Rugian war, taking us as it does out of Italy into the lands of the Middle Danube, and opening up some interesting glimpses into the life of the new barbarian states founded amidst the ruins of the Empire, must be told in the next chapter. But meanwhile it is important to note that already in the year 486 the friendly relations between Odovacar and Zeno had been replaced by scarcely veiled enmity; and thus the mind of the Emperor was already tuned to harmony with that fierce harangue against 'the usurped authority of a king of Rugians and Turcilingians' which, according to Jordanes, Theodoric delivered before him some time in the year 488.

[1] *Ὁ Ζήνων πρὸς τὸν Ὀδόακρον τὸ τῶν Ῥόγων ἐπανέστησε γένος, ὡς ἔγνω τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλοῦ συμμαχίαν παρασκευαζόμενον. Λαμπρὰν δὲ ἀναδησαμένων νίκην τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀδόακρον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ πεμψάντων δῶρα τῷ Ζήνωνι τῶν λαφύρων, ἀποπροσποιησάμενος συνήδετο τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν.* Joan. Ant. fr. 214 (p. 621, Müller).

NOTE B. On Odovacar's Deed of Gift to Pierius.

NOTE B. This document is published (with a facsimile) in Marini's 'Papiri Diplomatici' (Rome, 1805: Nos. 83 and 83) and in Spangenberg's 'Juris Romani Tabulae Negotiorum Solemnium' (Leipsic, 1822, pp. 164–173), and copiously commented upon by both authors.

It is written on papyrus, and has been torn into two parts, one of which is now preserved in the Theatine Monastery of St. Paul at Naples, the other in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Notwithstanding this wide severance of the fragments, there appears to be no doubt of their having once belonged to the same document. The writing is cursive, of a bold and flowing character, without any spaces between the words, and quite undecipherable except by an expert.

To make the document intelligible we must explain the pecuniary transactions of Odovacar (thus his name is spelt throughout the deed) and his Count of the Domestics, Pierius.

The king had promised to bestow upon his minister a yearly revenue of 690 solidi (£414). The larger part of this donation had been already accomplished. Pierius had, before the execution of these presents, received

the *Massa* (Estate) of the Pyramid[1] in the territory of Syracuse, yielding an annual rental of	450 solidi
and in the Province of Dalmatia the island of Melita (*not* our Malta but Meleda), yielding	200 solidi
	650 (=£390)

This leaves only a revenue of 40 solidi (£24) to provide, and

[1] According to Marini there was a pyramid of great height at Thapsus, about 8 miles from Syracuse, which was destroyed by an earthquake so recently as 1542. From this pyramid, it is suggested, the Massa Pyramitana received its name.

NOTE B.

in order to effect this, and in fact to give him a trifle over, Odovacar conveys to him

(1) the Aemilian farm (Fundus Aemilianus), yielding . . . . 18 solidi

(2) the remaining part of the farm Dublus, yielding . . . . 15 and 18 siliquae[1] (= $\frac{3}{4}$ of a solidus)

(3) part of the farm of Putaxia (?) (names of the tenants Januarius and Octedius) . . . . . 7 solidi

thus making a total of . . . . $40\frac{3}{4}$ solidi.

After this explanation we may proceed to copy the Deed itself:—

'(Viro Inlustri) ac magn(ifico) (Fr)atri Pierio Odovacar Rex Ex sexcentis nonaginta solidis quos Magnitudini tuae Humanitas nostra devoverat conferendos, sexcentos (quinquaginta ju)xta nostrae donationis tenorem viri sublimis Comitis et Vicedomini nostri Ardori didicimus (sugges)tione contraditos, id est intra p̄s (presens) [or ? provincias] Syracusano territorio (Pyramitana Mass.) solidos quadringentos quinquaginta et in Provincia Dalmatiarum Insulam Melitam (du)cen(tos) (so)lidos pensitantem reliquos ergo solidos quadraginta (de praefatam summ)am in s(upra) s(criptam) Massam fundos, id est Aemilianum prestantem solidos decem et octo et parte(m fun)di Dubli quae remansit solidos quindecim siliquas (decem et octo) nec non et parte(m fundi Puta)xiae qui (p)rest(at p)er (Ja)nuarium et Octedium (solidos) septem s(upra) s(cripto) territorio (con)stitutos volentes supplere (sum)mam superius con(pr)aehe(nsam pr)aesenti donatione in t(e) cum omni jure suo omnibusque ad se pertinentibus jure directo transcribimus adque ad tuum dominium optima profitemur lege migrasse quos utendi possidendi alienandi vel ad posteros transmittendi livero [libero] potiaris arvitrio [arbitrio] quam donationem Marciano v(iro) c(larissimo) Notario nostro scribendam dictavimus, cuique Andromacum v. i(llustrem) et magnificum Magistrum Officiorum Consiliario nostro pro nobis suscribere jussimus tribuentes adlegandi fiduciam ita ut a tuis Actoribus fiscalia tributa solvantur.

[1] The *siliqua* was the 24th part of a solidus.

NOTE B.

'Actum Ravenna s(upra)d(icto) quintodecimo Kal. Aprilium Probino v. c. Consule [A. D. 489].

'Et alia manu subscribtio,

'Incolumem Sublimitatem tuam divi(ni)tas tueatur, domine inlustris et magnifice Frater!

'Regestum s(ub) d(ie) et loco quo supra.'

This then was the purport of the deed. These little farms—which were in the neighbourhood of Syracuse and were meant to round off the Magnificent Pierius' possessions in that quarter—producing, however, a total rental of only £24 9s., which we can hardly on any hypothesis stretch beyond the equivalent of £100 in our own day—are conveyed by the king to his faithful servant, with full liberty of alienating the same or transmitting them to his descendants, it being only stipulated that the *fiscalia tributa* (claims of the Exchequer, chiefly no doubt for land-tax) shall be duly paid by his bailiffs (Actores). There is something peculiar about the attestation of the document. Odovacar does not sign it himself—probably, as Dahn suggests [1], because he could not write—but he orders that it shall be signed by Marcian the Notary and Andromacus the Master of the Offices. Marcian gives the dry legal attestation, the place (Ravenna), and the date (18 March, 489). The Magnificent Andromacus (probably) appends the more ceremonious conclusion, 'God have you in His holy keeping, Illustrious and Magnificent Colleague!'

The rest of the document, which it is not needful to set out at length, records the further proceedings in the matter. The *Actores* of Pierius (who are probably his freedmen, since they call him their *patronus* [2]) present the 'page of the royal generosity [3]' to the Magistrates [4] of Ravenna, headed by Aurelius Virinis, and pray that it may be received by the proper Registering Officer, read, and entered upon the proceedings [5]. As the Magnificent Andromacus is not forthcoming to attest his own signature, having gone from this city [6] to Rome, they pray that certain of the magistrates [7] will go with them to the Notary Marcian, the other attesting witness. They proceed accordingly, accom-

[1] K. der G. ii. 48.

[2] So Dahn, ii. 48.

[3] Pagina regiae largitatis.

[4] Decurions (?).

[5] Ut eandem a conpetenti officio suscipi jubeatis legi et actis indi.

[6] Ex *ac* civitate.

[7] Principales.

panied by a short-hand writer[1], to the *Clarissimus* Marcian. NOTE B. The 'page of donation' is shown to his Nobility[2] and read over. He is asked if he will have any objection to state[3] without prejudice[4] if he and the Magnificent Andromacus subscribed that paper. He replies that they did, by the command of the most Excellent King Odovacar.

All formalities as to this £40-a-year farm having been thus duly complied with at Ravenna, the residence of the grantor, it remains to take corporal possession of the property in Sicily itself.

First of all, the Acts of the Court at Ravenna are duly entered on the records of the Court at Syracuse[5]. Then Gregory the Chartarius (an officer whose subordinate rank is indicated by his epithet *devotus* and his title *tua Devotio* instead of *vestra Nobilitas* or *vestra Magnitudo*) is summoned by the Magistrates into their presence. Inasmuch as their public duties will not permit them to leave the city, Gregory is ordered to go forth with Amantius and the Actores of Pierius, having received the 'royal page' with all due devotion, that it may be completed by 'corporal tradition' of the property[6].

The reader will observe the introduction of the name of Amantius. He, as we learn from another part of the document, is 'vir praeclarus Decemprimus,' chief, that is to say, of one of the *Decuriae* (usually ten in number and containing ten members) into which the local Senate is divided. He is called by the Magistrates 'Frater et Concurialis noster.'

The legal procession walks forth to the several farms named in the deed. Something—a tantalising flaw in the MS. prevents us from saying what—is said or done to the tenants[7] and slaves. Then they go round all the boundaries and traverse every field,

[1] Exceptor.

[2] Hostensa ejus Nobilitati. The office of Notary was recognised in the Theodosian Code as a *Militia Nobilis*.

[3] Si edicere non gravetur.

[4] Absque sui injuriâ.

[5] Magistratus dixerunt, 'Gesta Gestis nectentur, adque si quid aliud est agendum, inter acta designetur.'

[6] Magistratus dixerunt, 'Quoniam nobis insistendum est in actibus publicis, et non possumus egredi omnes, pagina regia suscipiatur cum devotione, et a Gregorio, Amantioque et praesentibus Actoribus Pieri viri illustris traditio corporalis proventum suum accipiat.'

[7] Thus one may perhaps render *inquilinos*. Is not the word here really equivalent to *colonos*?

NOTE B. whether cultivated or lying waste. 'Corporal tradition' of all is given to the Actores of Pierius, no man opposing it[1].

They return to Syracuse. Amantius reports that all formalities have been duly observed. The Actores are asked if they are willing to undertake the fiscal obligations of the land. They reply that they are willing, and request that the name of the former owner may be removed from the public register, and that of their master substituted[2]. This is done[3]. The *laudabilis* Amantius appends his signature and the transaction is complete.

The length of the documents relating to so small a property, the particularity of the recitals, the exactness with which the performance of every formality is described, the care with which the various gradations in the official hierarchy are marked, the reverence which is professed for the mandate of Odovacar[4], all show us that we are still in presence of the unbroken and yet working machinery of the Roman law: though the hand, not of a Roman citizen, born on the Mediterranean shores, but of a full-blooded barbarian from the Danube, is that which must, at the last resort, control its movements.

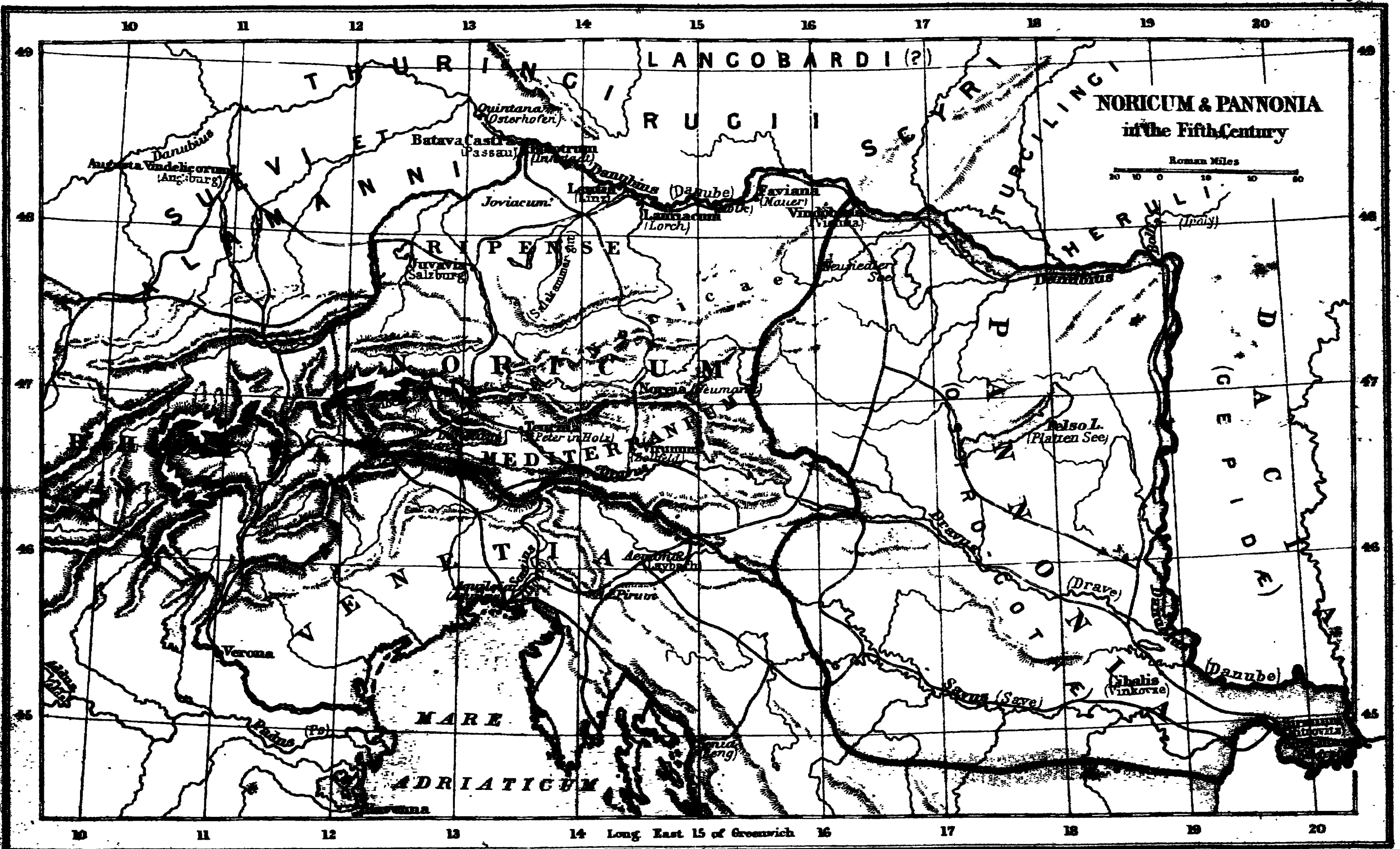
[1] Et cum hodie ambulassent et pervenissent ad singula praedia, adque introissent . . . et inquilinos sive servos, et circuissent omnes fines, terminos, agros, arbos [= arvos], cultos vel incultos seu . . . et traditio corporalis celebrata fuisset Actoribus Pieri v. i. nullo contradicente, et alio die ad civitatem reversi fuissent et in publicum pervidissent, etc.

[2] Et parati sumus, singulis annis pro eadem praedia fiscalia conpetentia solvere, unde rogamus uti jubeatis a polypthicis publicis nomen prioris dominii suspendi et nostri dominii adscribi.

[3] The registers which are first called *polypthici* are, for some reason or other, afterwards referred to as *vasaria* publica.

[4] Praecepta regalia vel sublimia.

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CHAPTER V.

THE RUGIAN WAR.

Authorities.

Sources :—

EXCEPT for two short entries in CUSPINIANI ANONYMUS and the Chronicle of CASSIODORUS, and a paragraph in PAULUS DIACONUS (eighth century), this chapter is entirely founded on the very valuable and nearly contemporary 'Life of Saint Severinus,' by EUGIPPIUS. This Life, which was written in the year 511 by the second Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Severinus, gives us, with of course the usual ecclesiastical glorification of the monastic hero, some most interesting pictures of life in the provinces of the Empire immediately after the incursion of the barbarians. Would that we had an Eugippius to tell us with similar minuteness how it fared with the Britons of Verulamium or Eboracum during their conflicts with the Teutonic invaders! BOOK IV. CH. 5.

I quote from the elaborate edition of Hermann Sauppe, published in the first volume of the 'Auctores Antiquissimi' in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin, 1877).

'The Emperor stirred up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians.' To understand the meaning of this statement, and to complete our knowledge, scanty at the best, concerning this war, which occupied the attention of Odovacar during three years of his short 486-488.
reign, we must turn back to the life of the saintly hermit of Noricum, Severinus[1].

The picture of the long-continued and hopeless misery

[1] See vol. ii. p. 514.

BOOK IV. CH. 5.

Misery of Noricum.

of a people which the biographer of the Saint draws for us is very depressing. Those lands between the Danube and the Noric Alps which now form one of the most thoroughly enjoyable portions of 'the playground of Europe,' the valleys round the Gross Glockner, the Salzkammer-gut, Salzburg with its castle rock and its noble amphitheatre of hills, Lorch with its stately monastery, Linz with its busy industries, all the fair domains of the old Archduchy of Austria down even to Vienna itself, were then in that most cruel of all positions, neither definitely subjected by the barbarian nor efficaciously protected against him, but wasted by his plundering bands at their will, though still calling themselves Roman, and possibly maintaining some faint show of official connection with Italy and the Empire. The Thuringians on the north-west and the Alamanni on the west appeared alternately under the walls of Passau[1], and seldom departed without carrying some of its wretched inhabitants into captivity. The latter nation of marauders pushed their ravages sometimes as far inland as to Noreia[2], in the very heart of Noricum. The Ostrogoths from Pannonia levied contributions in the valley of the Drave[3]; and the Suevic Hunimund, the enemy of the Ostrogoths, marching across the unhappy province to meet his foe, sacked the city of Boiotrum[4], which he surprised while the inhabitants were busy over their harvest, and shed the blood of the priests in the baptistery of the basilica[5].

[1] Batava Castra. [2] Neumarkt in Styria.

[3] From Teurnia, now S. Peter im Holz, about forty miles east of Lienz.

[4] Innstadt, near Passau.

[5] Eugippius, Vita S. Severini, xxvii, xxxi, xxv, xvii, xxii; Jordanes, De Reb. Get. cap. liii.

Kingdom of the Rugians.

In the midst of this anarchy, the only semblance of firm and settled government seems to have been offered by the powerful monarchy of the *Rugians*, who occupied a compact territory north of the Danube corresponding to the eastern half of Bohemia, the west of Moravia, and a part of Lower Austria. And such order as they did preserve was probably but the reservation to themselves of an exclusive right to levy contributions on the Roman provincials. 'I cannot bear,' said the Rugian king Feletheus to Severinus, 'that this people, for whom thou art interceding, should be laid waste by the cruel depredations of the Alamanni and the Thuringians, or slain by the sword or carried into slavery, when there are near to us tributary towns in which they ought to be settled.' And this was the motive for bringing a great army of Rugians against the city of Lauriacum[1], in which were assembled the trembling fugitives who had escaped from the other barbaric invasions. Nor could all the exhortations of the Saint, though they seem to have prevented actual bloodshed, change the barbarian's purpose of removing the Provincials (who are always spoken of by the once mighty name of Romans) out of their city of refuge and dispersing them among various towns in his own dominions, where 'they lived in benevolent companionship with the Rugians;' the benevolent companionship, doubtless, of the lamb with the wolf.

Activity of Saint Severinus.

So long as he lived, no doubt Saint Severinus did much to soften, in individual cases, the hardships of this harassed and weary existence. In his monastery

[1] Lorch on the Danube.

BOOK IV. CH. 5.

at Faviana[1] he collected great magazines of food and stores of clothing, from which he used to relieve the hunger and nakedness of the captives or rufugees who travelled along the great Danubian road. But though his heart was full of pity for his brethren, his presence was not always welcomed by them. The stormy petrel of Noricum, he was constantly appearing at some still undemolished Roman settlement and prophesying to the inhabitants, 'The time of this *castellum* is come. In two days, or in three days, the barbarians who have devastated so many cities will appear before your walls.' The practical counsel of the Saint was generally contained in one of two words. It was either 'Fast' or 'Fly.' Himself an anchorite who practised the austerest forms of self-discipline, never eating before sunset except on feast-days, and allowing himself only one meal a week in Lent, yet ever preserving, even under the stress of this abstinence, a cheerful and unruffled countenance, he loved to accompany his message of coming woe by an exhortation to the provincials to disarm the anger of the Lord by fasting and prayer[2]. This counsel was not always acceptable.

[1] Faviana used to be universally identified with Vienna; but it is now generally put a good deal higher up the river. Mommsen (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, iii. 687) fixes it at Mauer, about half-way between Vienna and Lorch.

[2] An instance in which these counsels of perfection were perhaps inopportunely tendered is recorded in the 26th chapter. A leper had come from Milan, attracted by the fame of the Saint. Severinus cured him of his leprosy by fasting and prayer, and counselled him to return home. The grateful suppliant begged to be allowed to remain near the holy man, who exhorted him to abide in prayer with frequent fastings. 'Fortified by these heavenly remedies he was, within the space of two months, freed from the fetters of this mortal life.'

At Innstadt[1], for example, when the priests asked for relics for their church, and the merchants that leave might be obtained for them to trade with the Rugians, and when the Saint replied, 'It is of no use; the time is come for this town, like so many other *castella*, to be desolated,' a certain presbyter, filled with the spirit of the devil, cried out, 'Oh, go away, holy man! and that speedily, that we may have a little rest from fastings and watchings.' The Saint wept, for he knew that open scurrility is the evidence of secret sins; and then he prophesied of the woe that should come upon them, and of the human blood that should be shed in that very baptistery in which they were standing. All which came true almost immediately after he had departed. Hunimund drew near to the city and took it, and the scurrilous priest was slain in that very basilica, to which he had fled for refuge[2].

He generally dissuaded from resistance.

Once or twice the Saint lifted up his voice for war, and promised victory; but as a rule, if he did not recommend the spiritual weapons of fasting and prayer, he counselled the inhabitants to withdraw before the barbarian forces. Thus he vainly urged the people of Joviacum (a town about twenty miles below Passau) to escape before the Herulian invasion, which he foreboded, should come upon them. The citizens of Quintana[3], who had already fled once, to Passau, were exhorted to flee again, to Lauriacum[4]; and the few disobedient ones were massacred by the Thuringians. But always, during the last and dreariest years of his life, when the barbarian darkness seemed gathering most hopelessly over the doomed provincials, the Saint

[1] Boiotrum.

[2] c. xxiv.

[3] Osterhofen, between Passau and Ratisbon.

[4] Lorch.

BOOK IV. CH. 5.

foretold that the Romans should be delivered from their enemies, and led up out of Noricum, as Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt. 'And then,' said he, 'as Joseph asked his brethren, so do I beg of you, that ye carry my bones up hence. For these places, now so crowded with cultivators, shall be reduced into so mighty a solitude that the enemy, hunting for gold, shall break open even the sepulchres of the dead.'

Mystery as to origin of Severinus.

Severinus preserved the mystery as to his origin and parentage till the end, unimparted even to his nearest friends. His pure Latin speech showed that there was no admixture of the barbarian in his blood [1], and it was generally believed that he had spent some time as a hermit in the East before he suddenly appeared in the towns of the Danubian Noricum. He would sometimes casually allude to the cities of the East, and to immense journeyings which he had in past times performed there. But he did not permit himself to be questioned as to his past history. Near the close of his life, an Italian priest of noble birth and weighty character, Primenius by name, fled to Noricum, fearing to be involved in the fate of Orestes, of whom he had been the confidential adviser and friend. After many days had passed in friendly intercourse between them, Primenius one day hazarded the enquiry, 'Holy master, from what province first sprang that light which God has deigned to bestow on us in thee?' The man of God turned aside the question with a joke: 'If you think I am a runaway slave, get

[1] 'Loquelâ tamen ipsius manifestabat hominem omnino latinum, quem constat prius ad quandam orientis solitudinem fervore perfectioris vitae fuisse profectum atque inde post ad Norici Ripensis oppida;' Epistola Eugippii, 10.

ready the ransom, that you may offer it on my behalf when I am claimed.' Then, more seriously, he discoursed on the unimportance of race or birthplace in comparison with that Divine call which, he earnestly asserted, had led him to those regions to succour his perishing brethren.

Courtesies between him and Odovacar.

The young recruit whom Severinus had blessed on his journey to Italy, and to whom he had prophesied the splendid future which lay before him, beyond the Alpine horizon, was not unmindful of that early augury. King Odovacar sent to the Saint a friendly letter, promising him the fulfilment of any petition which he might choose to make. On this invitation Severinus asked for the forgiveness of a certain exile named Ambrose, and the King joyfully acceded to the request. On another occasion several noble persons were speaking about the King in the Saint's presence, and 'according to custom,' says the biographer, 'were praising him with man's flattery.' We note the presence of these 'many noble persons' of Noricum, Roman citizens no doubt, in the Saint's cell, and their high praises of the barbarian ruler of Italy, as interesting signs of the times, even if their panegyrics were, as the biographer hints, somewhat conventional and insincere. The Saint enquired, 'Who was the king thus greatly lauded?' They replied, 'Odoacer.' He answered, 'Odoacer who shall be safe between thirteen and fourteen years [1],' predicting thus with accuracy the duration of the new king's unquestioned supremacy in Italy.

[1] 'Respondentibus "Odoacrem," "Odoacer" inquit "qui integer inter tredecim et quattuordecim annos?" videlicet integritatem ejus regni significans;' cap. xxxii.

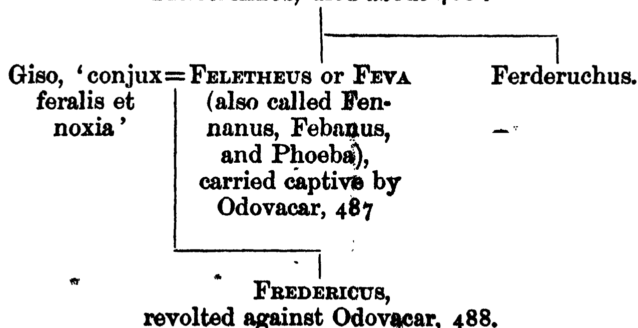
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Flaccitheus king of the Rugians, 430-460(?).

But the chief relations of the hermit of Noricum were naturally with the Rugian kings, and through his biography we gain an insight into the inner life of one of these new barbaric royalties, of which we should otherwise know nothing[1]. *Flaccitheus*, king of the Rugians (perhaps from about 430 to 460), was greatly alarmed at the vast multitude of Goths, apparently full of enmity against him, who were settled on his border in Lower Pannonia. Asking the advice of the holy man, whom he consulted like a heavenly oracle, he told him in much perturbation that he had requested from the Gothic princes[2] a safe-conduct into Italy, and that the refusal of this request filled him with alarm as to their intentions. Severinus replied, 'If we were united by the bond of the One Catholic Faith I would gladly give thee advice concerning the life to come. But since thy enquiry relates only to the present life, I will tell thee that thou needest not be disquieted by the multitude of these Goths, since they will shortly depart and leave thee in safety. Live a peaceful life;

[1] We obtain from Eugippius the following

Genealogy of the Rugian Kings.



[2] 'A Gothorum principibus.' Evidently alluding to the triple royalty of Walamir, Theudemir, and Widemir.

do not undergo the curse laid upon him "who maketh flesh his arm:" lay no snares for others, while taking heed of those laid for thyself: so shalt thou meet thine end peacefully in thy bed.'

The divine oracle soothed the anxious King, who went away greatly comforted. Soon afterwards, however, a crowd of barbarian, probably Gothic, marauders carried off a number of the Rugians, whose King again came to the Saint for counsel. By divine revelation Severinus warned him not to follow the robbers, to beware of crossing the river, and to avoid the snares which in three several places his enemies had laid for him. 'Soon shall a faithful messenger arrive who shall assure thee of the truth of all these sayings.' And in fact, very shortly afterwards, two Rugian captives, who had escaped from the dwellings of the enemy, arrived at the King's court and confirmed the Saint's predictions in every particular. The devices of the enemies of the Rugian king being thus frustrated, his affairs went on prospering, and in due time Flaccitheus died in rest and tranquillity.

His successor, Feletheus or Feva, 460-487.

To him succeeded his son *Feletheus* or *Feva*, who at first followed his father's example, and was guided in all things by the counsels of the holy hermit. But before long the influence of his wife, the cruel and guilty Giso, began to assert itself, always in opposition to the healthful spirit of divine grace. This woman (evidently an Arian), among her other infamous actions, even sought to re-baptize certain Catholics, but was obliged to desist when her husband, out of reverence for Saint Severinus, forbade the sacrilegious deed[1].

[1] 'Hunc conjux feralis et noxia, nomine Giso, semper a clementiae remediis retrahebat. Haec ergo, inter cetera iniquitatis

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This queen was wont to cause certain of the 'Romans' (that is, provincials) to be carried across the Danube and there kept in bitter bondage. This had she once done with some of the inhabitants of Faviana, whom, when carried captive, she condemned to slavery of the most degrading kind. Severinus, grieving for his neighbours, sent messengers entreating her to restore them to their homes. But she, flaming out in violent wrath, returned a message of angry contempt to the hermit: 'Go, oh slave of God! skulk into your cell to pray, and let me issue such orders concerning *my* slaves as I think fit.' The Saint, when he received this answer, said, 'I trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, who will make her do of necessity that which her evil will refuses to do at my request.'

The Goldsmiths and the Prince.

That very day the judgment of God came upon the arrogant queen. There were certain barbarian goldsmiths who were kept close prisoners in the palace and obliged to work all day at ornaments for the royal family. The little prince Frederic, son of Feletheus and Giso, out of childish curiosity (and perhaps attracted by the glitter of the gold) ventured in amongst these men. The workmen at once caught up a sword, and held it to the child's throat. 'No one,' said they, 'shall now enter this room unless our lives and our liberty are assured to us by oath. If this be refused we will first kill the child and then ourselves, for we are made desperate by the misery of this dungeon.' The cruel and wicked queen at once perceived that the vengeance of God had come upon her for her

suae contagia etiam rebaptizare quosdam est conata Catholicos, sed ob sancti reverentiam Severini non consentiente viro, a sacrilega quantocius intentione defecit' (cap. viii).

insults to the holy man. She sent horsemen to implore his pardon, and restored to their homes the Roman captives for whom he had that day interceded. The goldsmiths received a sworn assurance of safety, upon which they let the child go, and were themselves dismissed in peace. The revered servant of Christ recognised the good hand of his God in this interposition, which had actually accomplished more than he asked for, since not only the Roman captives but the oppressed barbarian gold-workers had obtained their freedom. The queen and her husband hastened to his cell, exhibited the son whom they acknowledged themselves to have received back from the very gates of death through his intercession, and promised obedience to all his commands in future[1].

Soldiers on the *Limes*.

One instance of the prescience of the Saint may be noticed here, because it incidentally throws some light on the condition of the soldiers who guarded the boundaries of the Empire. What happened to the legions on the Danubian *limes* may easily have occurred also to those stationed *per lineam valli* in our own island. 'At the time,' says Eugippius, 'when the Roman Empire still held together, the soldiers of many towns were supported by public pay for the better guardianship of the *limes*[2].' This obscure sentence perhaps means that local troops were drafted off to the *limes*, and there received, as was natural, imperial pay and equipments. 'When this custom ceased, the squadrons (*turmae*) of cavalry were obliterated; but

[1] Cap. viii.

[2] 'Per id tempus, quo Romanum constabat imperium, multorum milites oppidorum pro custodia limitis publicis stipendiis alebantur' (cap. xx).

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the Batavian legion (stationed at Passau) lasted as long as the *limes* itself stood. From this legion certain soldiers had gone forth to Italy to bear to their comrades their last pay, and these men had been slain on the march by the barbarians, no one knowing thereof[1]. On a certain day, while Severinus was reading in his cell, suddenly he closed the *codex* and began to weep and sigh. Then he told the by-standers to run quickly to the river's brink, which, as he affirmed, was in that very hour stained with human gore. And immediately word was brought that the bodies of the aforesaid soldiers had just been swept on shore by the force of the stream.'

Death of Severinus, 482 (?).

At length the time drew near for the Saint to die. Of the very day of his death, as of so many of the events which had made his life memorable, it was believed that he had an intimation from Heaven. Not long before it arrived he sent for the king and queen of the Rugians. 'Giso,' said he to the queen, 'dost thou love this man' (pointing to the king) 'or silver and gold best?' 'My husband better than all wealth,' said she. 'Then,' he said, 'cease to oppress the innocent, lest their affliction be the cause of the scattering of your power: for thou dost often pervert the mildness of the king. Hitherto God has prospered your kingdom. Henceforward you will see——' The royal couple took leave of him and departed.

Next stood Ferderuchus by his bed-side — Ferderu-

[1] 'Qua consuetudine desinente simul militares turmae sunt deletae, cum limite Batavino utcunque numero perdurante (?) ex quo perrexerant quidam ad Italiam extremum stipendium commilitonibus allaturi, quos in itinere peremptos a barbaris nullus agnoverat.' These sentences are interesting but difficult.

chus the king's brother, who had received from Feletheus a present of the few Roman towns remaining on the Danube, Faviana among them. Severinus spoke of his own immediate departure, and besought the prince not to draw down upon himself the Divine wrath, by touching the stores collected during the Saint's lifetime for the poor and the captives. Ferderuchus eagerly disclaimed the intention imputed to him, and professed a desire to follow the pious footsteps of his father Flaccitheus. But Severinus replied, 'On the very first opportunity thou wilt violate this my cell and wilt be punished for it in a manner which I do not desire.' Ferderuchus repeated his protestations of obedience and departed. The Saint knew his covetous nature better, perchance, than he did himself. The end followed speedily. At midnight Severinus called his monks to him, exhorted them to persevere according to their vocation, kissed each one of them, made the sign of the cross, and died, while they were reciting around him the 150th Psalm. Scarcely was his worn body laid in the slight shell which the brethren had prepared for it, mindful of his prophecy concerning their speedy migration southwards, when Ferderuchus, 'poor and impious, and made ever more ruthless by his barbarous avarice,' bore down upon the monastery, determined to carry off the stores of raiment collected there for the use of the poor. When these were swept away he proceeded to take the sacred vessels from the altar. His steward[1] did not dare to execute this part of his master's commands himself, but deputed the work to a soldier named

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8 Jan. 482 (?).

Faithlessness of Ferderuchus.

[1] 'Villicus.'

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Avitianus, whose unwilling sacrilege was punished by an immediate attack of St. Vitus's dance. Alarmed and penitent, the soldier turned monk, and ended his days in solitude on a distant island. Meanwhile the covetous Ferderuchus, unmindful of the dying Saint's exhortations and of his own promises, continued to ransack the monastery, and finally carried off everything except the bare walls, which he could not convey across the Danube to his own land[1]. But vengeance soon overtook him; for before a month had elapsed, being slain by Frederic his brother's son (the boy who once wandered into the workshop of the goldsmiths, now grown up to manhood), he lost both booty and life.

His death.

Odovacar avenges Ferderuchus.

These events occurred in the early part of 482, and they are connected—but precisely how connected it is impossible to say—with the war which Odovacar, five years later, waged against the Rugians. The biographer of Severinus, after describing the defeat of Ferderuchus by his nephew and the death of the former, says, 'For which cause king Odovacar made war upon the Rugians.' But as the sacrilegious inroad of Ferderuchus seems to have followed close upon the death of the Saint, which certainly happened in 482, and is expressly stated to have been followed in its turn by the expedition of Frederic, and as Odovacar's Rugian war did not break out before the end of 486 (being in fact assigned by two chroniclers[2] to the year 487), it is clear that the death of Ferderuchus was not

[1] 'Ferderuchus autem immemor contestationis et praesagii sancti viri abrasis omnibus monasterii rebus, parietes tantum, quos Danuvio non potuit transferre, dimisit' (cap. xliv).

[2] Cuspiniani Anon. and Cassiodorus.

immediately avenged by the Italian king. Possibly (but this is a mere conjecture) some brotherhood in arms may have connected Odovacar and Ferderuchus in old days, when the former was still an adventurer in Noricum, and he may have been bound by Teutonic notions of honour to avenge, sooner or later, the death of his comrade. Possibly the increased sufferings of the provincials at the hands of the Rugians, after the death of Saint Severinus, may have called upon a king, who now in some sort represented the majesty of Rome, to redress their wrongs[1]. At any rate, in these elements of strife, and in the fact that between the Alps and the Danube no other barbarian power existed which could vie with the monarchy of Feletheus, we find some explanation of the sentence in which John of Antioch informed us that 'the Emperor Zeno stirred up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians.'

Invasion of 487.

The events of the war are soon told. Possibly the Rugians made some movement against Odovacar in 486. It is certain that in 487 he returned the blow, invaded their territory, put the young general Frederic to flight, and carried Feletheus (or Feva) 'and his wicked wife' prisoners to Ravenna[2].

Invasion of 488.

Afterwards, probably in the following year, Odovacar was informed that Frederic had returned to his own land, upon which he sent his brother Onoulf with

[1] I can hardly, however, attribute so much force to this motive as Pallmann (ii. 403) does: since it seems improbable that Zeno should have sided with the Rugians if Odovacar was simply championing the 'Romans.'

[2] Cuspiniani Anonymus, sub anno 487. He calls the king Fennanius: but one editor reads Feunanus, another Febanus. Cassiodori Chronicon. Eugippius, Vita Severini, xliv.

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a large army against him. Frederic was again forced to flee, and betook himself to Theodoric the Amal, who was then dwelling at Novae (probably the place which is now the Bulgarian town of Sistova), on the Lower Danube[1].

Emigration of provincials from Noricum, 488, taking the body of Severinus.

After this conquest of Rugiland (so Paulus Diaconus informs us that the country of the Rugians was called[2]) the emigration of Roman provincials into Italy took place, as foretold by Severinus. Onoulf ordered it; Pierius, Count of the Domestics (who received from Odovacar the deed of gift mentioned in the last chapter), superintended the doing of it. A certain aged priest named Lucillus, to whom Severinus had predicted his decease, and who had then replied, 'Surely I shall go before thee,' was still living, and directed the removal of his remains, which, mindful of the Saint's injunction, the emigrants were set upon carrying up out of the land of bondage. They went at evening, chanting psalms, to the Saint's resting-place. The usual mediaeval marvels of the charnel-house followed,—the body found undecaying, though unembalmed, after six years' entombment, even the hair and the beard still untouched, a sweet odour filling all the neighbourhood of the tomb. The body, with its cerements unchanged, was placed in a chest, which had been prepared some time before in anticipation of the removal, set upon a waggon (*carpentum*), and drawn by horses over the mountainous passes which separate Noricum from Italy. In the sad procession which followed the relics of the Saint

[1] Eugippius, Vita Severini, cap. xliv.

[2] De Gestis Langobardorum, i. 19.

walked all the Roman inhabitants of Noricum, leaving the ruined towns by the Danube for the new homes allotted to each of them in Italy[1].

The Monks invited to the Lucullanum;

After long journeyings, the body of the Saint reached a village (*castellum*) called Mons Feletis (possibly Felitto in Campania, about fifteen miles east of Paestum), and there it abode during at least four of the troublous years that followed[2], healing the sick, giving speech to the dumb, and working the usual wonders that attested the genuineness of a Saint's relics in the fifth century. But, after a time, a devout and illustrious widow named Barbaria, who had known the Saint by report during his life, whose husband had often corresponded with him, and who now greatly venerated his memory, finding that his body, though brought with all honour to Italy, yet lacked a permanent resting-place, sent to Marcian the presbyter and the congregation of monks which had gathered round the sacred relics, inviting them to lay their precious deposit within her domain. The Pope, Gelasius, gave his consent. All the dwellers in Naples poured forth to receive in reverence the body of the Saint, and it was duly laid, according to her invitation, 'in the Lucullan Castle,' where a monastery was founded, presided over, first by Marcian and then by Eugippius, the biographer to whom we owe these

[1] 'Linteaminibus igitur immutatis in loculo multo ante jam tempore praeparato funus includitur, carpento trahentibus equis impositum mox evehitur, *cunctis nobiscum provincialibus idem iter agentibus, qui oppidis super ripam Danuvii derelictis per diversas Italiae regiones varias suae peregrinationis sortiti sunt sedes*' (cap. xliv).

[2] The next removal was under the pontificate of Pope Gelasius, which did not commence till 492.

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details. The usual miracles were wrought by the sacred bones. A blind man was restored to sight. The chief of the Neapolitan choir was cured of a most stubborn head-ache by leaning his forehead against the dead man's bier. Demons were cast out, and innumerable other miracles of bodily and mental healing perpetuated the fame of Saint Severinus of Noricum till the fear of the Saracen marauders caused tomb and monastery to be transported to the safer asylum of Naples.

possibly by the mother of Augustulus.

But who was the illustrious lady who invited the monks to settle on her land? and what is the Lucullan Castle where Severinus was laid? It is impossible to prove, but we may venture a conjecture that this widow Barbaria, evidently a lady of high rank, is none other than the mother of Romulus Augustulus. She too sprang from Noricum, her husband Orestes had doubtless often corresponded with Severinus concerning the affairs of the provincials in that country. Yet they might well have known the Saint by fame only, not by personal intercourse, since, about the same time that Severinus suddenly appeared by the banks of the Danube (shortly after the death of Attila), Orestes, accompanied doubtless by his wife, must have left his native country, Pannonia, and come to seek his fortune in Italy. These, however, are but slight coincidences; but when it is remembered that it was to 'the Lucullan Castle' that Augustulus was consigned by the barbarian conqueror, our conjecture rises many degrees in probability. It is true that nothing is said as to his being accompanied by his mother, but this companionship, in itself probable, is rendered yet more so by a letter written by command of Theodoric to

Romulus and his mother[1], which we find in the official correspondence of Cassiodorus.

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Position of the Lucullanum (Castel dell' Ovo).

As for the Lucullanum (whose site was left somewhat doubtful when it was previously mentioned in this history[2]), it seems to be agreed by the best antiquaries of Naples that it corresponds, as nearly as the alteration of the coast-line will permit, with the Castel dell' Ovo, that remarkable island or peninsula which juts out from the shore of modern Naples between the Chiaja and the Military Harbour. Perhaps some of the mainland in the modern quarter of Santa Lucia, lying westward of the present Royal Palace, went to make up the pleasure-grounds and to form the fishponds of the luxurious conqueror of Mithridates, that Lucullanum which was the gilded prison of the last Roman Emperor of Rome[3].

[1] Cassiodor. Variarum, iii. 35.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 523.

[3] For this identification of the Castel dell' Ovo with the Lucullanum I may refer to J. Beloch's careful treatise on Campanian topography, *Campanien* (Berlin, 1879). He says (p. 81): 'The island of Megaris came, later on, into the possession of Lucullus, and formed the nucleus of his far-famed Neapolitan villa. It is the "*insula clarissimi adolescentis Luculli*" whither Cicero came with Brutus after the murder of Caesar (Phil. x. 4. 8). . . . The Villa, however, of course did not limit itself to the narrow space of the island, but spread over the neighbouring mainland as far as the rocks of Chiatamone and the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Reale and Castel Nuovo. After the time of the Normans the island came to be known as the Castel dell' Ovo.'

NOTE C. ODOVACAR'S NAME IN AN INSCRIPTION AT SALZBURG.

NOTE C.

A READER of this book, visiting Salzburg, might, unless forewarned, think that he had stumbled upon an important contribution to our scanty knowledge of the acts of Odovacar.

In the side of the Mönchsberg, a steep cliff immediately above the church and cemetery of St. Peter, there are two caves which tradition connects with the memory of Maximus, who is said to have suffered death at the hands of the barbarians in the year 476 or 477. There is still visible in the cave this inscription on a stone: 'Anno Domini 477 Odoacer, rex Ruthenorum, Gepidi, Gothi, Hungari et Heruli contra ecclesiam Dei saevientes beatum Maximum cum sociis 50 in hoc spelaeo latitantibus ob confessionem fidei praecipitatos trucidarunt, Noricorum quoque provinciam ferro et igne demoliti sunt.'

There was also a wooden tablet (now, I think, removed to the Museum) bearing a long inscription, the most important sentences of which, for our purpose, are the following: 'Quo [Attila] mortuo regnante Zenone imperatore anno Domini 477 Odoacer, natione Rhutenus, Romam cum Herulis ingreditur, Latinos annis 14 opprimens. Interea Gepidi, Gothi, Hungari et Heruli Noricorum provinciam atroci perturbant praelio, civitates Histro adjacentes depopulando; etiam contra Juvaviam, quae inter civitates Bavaricas eminebat nobilissima, aciem dirigunt, quod vir Dei Severinus, episcopus Ravennensis . . . in spiritu cognovit etc. . . . Eadem nocte Barbari Hungari, Gothi et Heruli insperato irruentes civitatem diripiunt, plures captivos ducentes, presbyterum vero Maximum patibulo suspenderunt, ceteris circa quinquaginta in spelaeo petrae latitantibus trucidatis et de monte praecipitatis,' etc.

In spite of the minuteness of their details, and of the very interesting place with which they are connected, these two inscriptions are of no historical value. Both of them give the date according to the computation of Dionysius Exiguus, from the birth of our Lord; that fact alone makes it impossible that

they could be in any sense contemporary documents. (The Dionysian computation was not adopted even in Italy till about 530.) Nor, if the date were treated as an alteration of later times, will the substance of the inscriptions stand the test of critisism any better. Both introduce the Hungarians into the list of the assailants of Juvavia, and the Hungarians did not appear in Europe till the ninth century. Both make Odovacar a Ruthene instead of a Rugian, the Ruthenians having apparently emerged not long before the Hungarians. The inscription on the wooden tablet makes Severinus bishop of *Ravenna*,—a ridiculous blunder. It would require fuller data than I possess, to decide when these inscriptions were really placed in the caves, but probably not earlier than the fall of the monarchy of the Avars in 796 (soon after which time German civilisation began to rear Salzburg on the ruins of Juvavia), perhaps much later.

The same remarks which have been made as to the inscriptions apply to a work entitled 'Historia de origine, consecratione et reparatione speluncae seu eremitorii ejusque capellae in monte prope coemeterium sancti Petri in civitate Salisburgensi, ex antiquissimis monumentis et manuscriptis in lucem protracta' (printed in 1661.)

The historian of Roman Salzburg, Dr. Ignaz Schumann von Mannsegg (in his monograph 'Juvavia' published in 1842), comments on this MS. at considerable length (pp. 247–261), while admitting that it is not entirely accurate. But it also mentions Hungarians among the invaders, and is evidently a comparatively late production, not at all deserving the attention which Dr. Schumann has given to it. The only reason for alluding to it at all is that it speaks of Odovacar as an ordinary barbarian king and invader ('Eodem anno 476 ille Rugiorum princeps Odoacer exercitum suum ingentem et fortissimum per has Noricales terras in Italiam duxerat,' etc.). And if this little treatise had any contemporary authority at all, we might be forced by it to reconsider the theory, now admitted by all scholars, that Odovacar was not in form a foreign invader, but rather a ringleader of mutinous soldiers in the pay of the Empire.

The caves in the Mönchsberg, and the cemetery of St. Peter below them, are extremely interesting, and probably do carry us back to the earliest days of Christian Juvavia. It is quite

 possible that monks under the presidency of a certain Maximus may have congregated there after a partial destruction of the city by the Huns in 452. Quite possible too that Maximus and fifty of his companions may have been hurled down the steep sides of the Mönchsberg, and so met their death at the hands of some of the barbarians who were at that time the scourge of Noricum. But it may be said positively that Odovacar had nothing to do with this massacre, and it may be almost as strongly asserted that 'the heretic Widemir' (the Ostrogoth), whom the MS. 'de Origine' tries to connect with it, was also guiltless, and very likely entirely ignorant of the cruel deed.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEATH-GRAPPLE.

Authorities.

Sources:—

OUR most important authority for this period is ENNODIUS, Bishop of Ticinum (473 to 521). Some facts are drawn from his life of Epiphanius already described (vol. ii. p. 467). But much more important for our present purpose is his 'Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico.' This oration was addressed by Ennodius (not yet Bishop of Ticinum) to Theodoric between the years 504 and 508, less than twenty years after the events recorded in this chapter, and it is therefore strictly a contemporary document. For obvious reasons a panegyric of a living sovereign is an unsatisfactory source to draw from. We have to deal not only with the deliberate attempt to distort history in favour of the subject of the Panegyric, but also with the natural tendency (laudable from an artistic point of view) to tell the story in the presence of a chief actor in it rather by allusion and implication than by direct straightforward narration. In addition to this, the style of Ennodius is most wretched, full of turgid servility, of oratorical tricks which do not deceive, of enigmas which, when by great pains you have mastered their sollution, prove to be nonsense. Manso (Geschichte der Ostgothen, p. 435) truly says, 'Adeo omnia sunt plena argutiarum et ineptiarum, tot undique calamistri adhibiti, tot mira verborum et compositionum monstra ut nauseam moveat oratio turgida atque inflata, stomachum ambigua atque obscura.' On a first perusal the reader can hardly see anything but this miserable style: but when he comes back to the Panegyric, compares it with the chroniclers, sees how their short matter-of-fact sentences lighten

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up its darkness and explain its mysterious hints, he will find that it is really a document of great historical value, and deserving of serious study. Above all, the *silence* of Ennodius is noteworthy. It is an important fact, in reference to one of the most memorable passages of Theodoric's life, that his Panegyrist says not one word, good or bad, about the death of Odovacar[1]. (Quotations are made from the edition in Migne's 'Patrologia,' vol. 63.)

Next in importance to the Panegyric is the document entitled by German scholars the ANNALS OF RAVENNA ('die Ravennatische Fasten'), a calendar of important events affecting the city of Ravenna in particular and Italy in general, kept possibly by some clerical person in connection with the metropolitan church, and for the most part recording not the year only but the precise day of each notable occurrence. This, though now no longer extant, was evidently the source from which (1) ANONYMUS VALESII[2], (2) CONTINUATIO PROSPERI[3], (3) CUSPINIANI CHRONICON[4], (4) AGNELLUS[5] (in the lives of the Bishops of Ravenna) drew their materials.

Referring the reader to the previous description of these writers, it will be sufficient here to add that the first two are for this period far the most important. *Anonymus Valesii* shows, as was previously stated, a strong bias towards the Emperor Zeno, and, though not unfriendly to Theodoric, looks at all Italian matters as much as possible from the Byzantine point of view. It is characteristic of this writer that he on every possible occasion gives Theodoric the title of *Patricius*, which he had received by grant of the Eastern Augustus.

Prosper's Continuer (otherwise called the Chronographer of 641, from the period to which the chronicle is continued[6], or

[1] Count Cipolla (in the fourth volume of the Atti e Memorie della R. Academia di Scienze, in Padova) argues with some ingenuity that the Panegyric of Ennodius was never recited orally, but was written only to be read. I think he shows that this is possible, but hardly that it is probable.

[2] See ii. 475.

[3] See i. 706.

[4] See ii. 190.

[5] See i. 899.

[6] In the first volume (first edition) it was said that this continuation reaches to the year 514. This is not accurate, as the chronicle reaches to 641. But all that is really valuable in the continuation, all that can be referred to the Annals of Ravenna, ends with 514. What follows after this is extracted verbatim from Isidore of Seville. This document has now been edited by Mommsen for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

Codex Havniensis from the place where the MS. is now preserved) tells the story with more fire and fulness than the Anonymus Valesii, and shows perhaps less of the Byzantine bias. He is, however, less to be relied on for his chronology. In fact, for exact chronology we are obliged to go to the somewhat meagre entries of CASSIODORUS.

The note at the end of this chapter will show the curious verbal correspondences between the four sources mentioned above. Their connection is the more remarkable, because, while the first three are probably contemporaries, or nearly contemporaries, of Theodoric, Agnellus is certainly separated from him by an interval of more than 300 years. The wildly inaccurate chronology of Agnellus, who at this very period tries to crowd Attila's invasion (452) and Odovacar's downfall (493) both into the same pontificate (of Joannes Angeloptes), telling us at the same time that he ruled 'sixteen years, ten months, and eighteen days,' would have disposed us to throw aside his compilation as altogether valueless for history. But the minute correspondence of some of his sentences with the other authorities who drew from the Annals of Ravenna, shows that we should be mistaken if we rejected him altogether, and that he was really, in part at least, copying from authorities who were contemporary with the events described.

JORDANES is very meagre here, and gives little help for this part of the history.

PROCOPIUS is somewhat fuller, but less trustworthy, being imperfectly acquainted with what happened in Italy fifty years before his time.

The HISTORIA MISCELLA may enshrine some genuine traditions of history, but there are evidences in it of literary compilation, especially from Ennodius, and its late date (eighth century) prevents our treating it as an authority of the first rank.

The account of the death of Odovacar, an interesting little bit of narrative full of the minute touches of a contemporary, perhaps an eyewitness, is preserved for us by JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, copying no doubt from some earlier writer. This is fragment 214 in the *fifth* volume of Müller's Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum. (Most of the extracts from Joannes are in the fourth volume of this series.)

BOOK IV. CH. 6.

Theodoric starts for Italy, 488.

IN the preceding chapter we saw that Frederic, the last scion of the Rugian stock, after his unsuccessful revolt fled before the army commanded by the brother of Odovacar, and sought refuge at the Court of Theodoric. Perhaps the injury done to one who was certainly an ally, and who may have been a kinsman, quickened the preparations of Theodoric. Or perhaps his bargain with the Byzantine Court having been concluded, he had been given to understand that he and his *foederati*, who had now received a commission to invade Italy, must look for no more rations or pay from the imperial treasury. Certain it is that, at what seems to us a most unseasonable time for such a march, in the late autumn of 488, he broke up his court or camp or settlement at Sistova, that high fortress on the south of the Danube overlooking what is now the flat and marshy Wallachian shore, and started with his nation-army on the long and difficult journey to Italy.

Family aspect of the migration.

Seldom, since Moses led the Children of Israel through the wilderness, has a more ill-compacted host attempted to penetrate through hostile countries and to win, by the edge of the sword, a new possession. In the case of Alaric, and of others of the great Teutonic chiefs, we have already had our attention called, by Claudian and other authorities, to the *family* aspect of their marches, migrations rather than campaigns. But of this journey of Theodoric the emphatic language of contemporaries justifies us in saying, that it was preeminently a *nation*, in all its strength and all its helplessness, that accompanied him. His own family, mother, sisters, nephews, evidently were with him, as before on the march to

Dyrrhachium. And as with the chief, so with the people. Procopius says, 'With Theodoric went the people of the Goths, putting their wives and children and as much of their furniture as they could take with them into their waggons[1].' Somewhat more minutely, but with too much of his usual vapid rhetoric, says Theodoric's panegyrist, Ennodius, 'Then, after you had summoned all your powers far and wide, the people, scattered through countless tribes, come together again as one nation, and a *world* migrates with you to the Ausonian land, a world every member of which is nevertheless your kinsman[2]. Waggons are made to do duty as houses, and into those wandering habitations all things that can minister to the needs of the occupants are poured. Then were the tools of Ceres, and the stones with which the corn is ground, dragged along by the labouring oxen. Pregnant mothers, forgetful of their sex and of the burden which they bore, undertook the toil of providing food for the families of thy people. Followed the reign of winter in thy camp. Over the hair of thy men the long frost threw a vail of snowy white; the icicles hung in a tangle from their beards. So hard was the frost that the garment which the matron's persevering toil had woven (for her husband) had to be broken before he could fit it to his body. Food for thy marching armies was forced from the grasp of the

[1] Καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Γότθων λεὼς εἵπετο, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἁμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα ὅσα φέρειν οἷοί τε ἦσαν (De Bello Gothico, i. 1).

[2] I suppose this is the meaning of 'nullus praeter parentem iter arripuit.' It would be absurd to say that every one who set out on the journey was a parent.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 488. hostile nations around, or procured by the cunning of the hunter[1].'

Number of the host. The question has been often asked, what must we suppose to have been the number of this moving multitude? The calculation can be only conjectural, but the data that we have point to a high figure. In the campaign in Epirus[2], as the reader may remember, the defeat of the mere rear-guard of the Ostrogothic army led to the capture of 5000 prisoners (a yet larger number having been cut to pieces), and put 2000 waggons at the disposal of the Byzantine host. In the same campaign a body of 6000 men, the most valiant in the army, are spoken of by Theodoric as a sort of flying column with which he was willing to march into Thrace and annihilate the forces of the son of Triarius; while that rival, on making his peace with the Empire, had obtained the promise of rations and pay for 13,000 men, to be selected by himself from the number of his followers. Looking at these facts, remembering that probably many of the Triarian Goths had joined Theodoric's standard after the extinction of the family of their leader, and that some, perhaps many, Rugians must have followed the fugitive Frederic into his camp, we shall probably be safe in estimating the fighting strength of Theodoric's army at 40,000 men, and the total number of the nation on its travels at 200,000[3]. If anything, this

[1] Ennodius, Panegyricus, p. 173. It is this passage which seems to compel us, contrary to probability, to fix the departure of Theodoric for the late autumn or winter of 488. But as Ennodius is drawing a general picture, I am not sure that the winter of 489, passed by the Goths in Lombardy, would not satisfy his description.

[2] Described in chap. iii.

[3] This is substantially Köpke's calculation (pp. 167–8); Dahn

conjecture is too low, since we find it stated that the Gothic army which besieged Rome only fifty years later (but they had been years of peace and unexampled prosperity) consisted of not less than 150,000 fighting men[1].

BOOK IV. CH. 6.

488.

Difficulties of commissariat.

Accepting the moderate computation here suggested, we can imagine, or rather we cannot imagine, the anxiety which must have gnawed the soul of Theodoric, when he had cut himself loose from his communications in Moesia, when his progress was barred by enemies upon whose neutrality he had, perhaps rashly, reckoned, when weeks lengthened into months, winter months, and still his long array, with all the sick, the children, the delicate women, with 200,000 mouths needing daily food, stood upon the snow-covered Illyrian uplands, and could not yet descend into the promised land, could not yet even see their final foe.

Troubles with the Gepids.

The first 300 miles were probably much the easiest part of the journey. They would be travelling along the great Danubian highway, perhaps the most important of all the roads connecting the eastern and western portions of the Roman Empire[2], and one which, even in those days of feebleness and decay, and after all the ravages of Goth and Hun, was still

guesses the whole multitude at 250,000 (ii. 78); Pallmann (ii. 437) at 300,000 Goths and 40,000 or 50,000 Rugians.

[1] Procopius, De Bello Gothico, i. 16 (p. 82 ed. Bonn).

[2] In the Antonine Itinerary the journey from Viminacium (near the confluence of the Morava and Danube) to Nicomedia in Bithynia (Constantinople was not then built) is traced all along the southern shore of the Danube to its mouth, then southwards along the Black Sea coast (mainly) and across the Bosporus to the capital of Diocletian, a total distance of 1162 Roman miles, but by no means in a straight line.

BOOK IV. Ch. 6. 488. probably kept in a fair state of repair[1]. Possibly too, as Theodoric was still in the territory of the now friendly empire, supplies for his followers would be forthcoming, if not from the imperial magazines, at any rate on moderate terms in the markets of the provincials. But when he reached Singidunum (Belgrade), the scene of that boyish victory of his over the Sarmatian king[2], his difficulties began, if they had not begun before. It is pretty clear from the facts, even if it were not expressly stated by Procopius[3], that, after the Ostrogoths performed their celebrated march to the Aegean under Theudemir (in 473), the Gepidae moved across the Danube (from Dacia into Pannonia) and occupied either the whole of the broad lands thus evacuated, or at any rate the south-eastern corner of them, including the important

[1] It is hardly necessary to discuss the statement of Procopius, according to which Theodoric first made for the narrow passage of the Adriatic from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium. 'But when they came close to the Ionian Gulf [Hadriatic] they were by no means able to cross over it, not having any ships, so, going round the head of the Gulf, they moved forward through the territory of the Taulantii and the other nations in that quarter.' Against this most improbable statement, which would impute to Theodoric a want of forethought very unlike his usual character, we have to set the clear words of Jordanes, copying no doubt from Cassiodorus: 'He led his people to Italy, and *taking the straight course* by Sirmium ascended to the confines of Pannonia, whence entering the borders of Venetia he pitched his camp by the Isonzo' ('Hesperiam tendit *rectoque itinere* per Sirmis ascendit vicina Pannoniae, indeque Venetiarum fines ingressus ad Pontem Sontii castra metatus est'). 'Ascended' just fits his course up the valleys of the Drave and the Save. Probably Procopius knew vaguely of Theodoric's operations against Dyrrhachium in 479 and mixed them up with his march to Italy.

[2] See chap. i.

[3] De Bello Vandalico, i. 2 (vol. i. p. 313 ed. Bonn).

and still not utterly ruined cities of Singidunum and Sirmium. Now, into this corner of the land, this long strip of country (the modern province of Slavonia) between the rivers Drave and Save, Theodoric's road led him, and through it he must lead his wayworn and hungering followers; but the Gepid barred the way. An embassy was sent[1], we may imagine, with such an appeal as Moses made to Sihon king of the Amorites which dwelt at Heshbon: 'Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn into the fields, or into the vineyards; we will not drink of the waters of the well: but we will go along by the king's high way, until we be past thy borders.' Like that appeal, however, this of Theodoric's, though it might have been based on the claims of kindred and on memories of the far-distant days when the Gepids manned one boat and the Goths two in the first migration[2], if made, was disregarded, and the nation-army, all encumbered as it was with baggage and diluted with non-combatants, had to fight for its right of way.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 488.

The decisive engagement came off at the river Ulca, concerning which we are told that 'it is the defence of the Gepidae which protects them like a mound, gives them an audacity which they would otherwise lack, and strengthens the frontier of the province with a wall that no battering rams can crumble[3].' It is not easy from this description to identify the river in question. The Save, which at this time must have formed the southern boundary of the Gepid territory, would have seemed a probable suggestion, but we have

The passage of the Ulca contested.

[1] 'Pro legatis et gratiae postulatione, obsistendi animo gens diu invicta properavit' (Ennodius, p. 173).

[2] Vol. i. p. 33.

[3] Ennodius, p. 173.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 488. no hint that it ever was called by any name like Ulca. On the whole, the least improbable conjecture seems to be[1] that we have here to do with the *Hiulca Palus*[2], a great sheet of water (possibly connected with streams above and below, and therefore not quite incorrectly termed a river) which, according to the striking description of Zosimus[3], mirrored the towers of the high hill-city of Cibalis, an important place, the exact site of which has not yet been discovered, but which was 101 Roman miles higher up the valley of the Save than Singidunum. If this identification be correct, the landscape on which Theodoric and his countrymen looked on this day of unwelcome conflict, was one which had already been the theatre of great events,
314. for here it was that Constantine the Great fought the first battle in that long duel with his brother-in-law Licinius which finally gave to the Christian Emperor the undisputed mastery of the Eastern and Western
321. worlds. Here too, only seven years later, was born one of the ablest of his successors, the ferocious but statesmanlike Valentinian[4].

[1] This is the view put forward by Manso (p. 453) and supported by Köpke (p. 170).

[2] Though most reluctant to differ from Zeuss (Die Deutschen, &c., p. 439), geographical considerations will hardly allow us to accept his identification of Ulca fluvius with the Aluta, a stream flowing into the Danube only thirty or forty miles west of Novae and on the Dacian side of the river.

[3] ii. 18.

[4] The identification of the *Ulca fluvius* of Ennodius with the *Hiulca Palus* of Victor (Epitome xli) is greatly strengthened by Ennodius's description of the battle, which recalls the idea of a morass or fen-country rather than a river properly so called. The words of Zosimus (ii. 18) are: Πόλις δὲ αὕτη [Κίβαλις] Παιονίας ἐστίν, ἐπὶ λόφου κειμένη. Στενὴ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάγει, σταδίων πέντε τὸ εὖρος ἔχουσα, ἧς τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἐπέχει λίμνη βαθεῖα, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον ὄρος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ λόφος ἐφ' οὗπερ ἡ πόλις. Ἐντεῦθεν

The ambassadors who were sent to the Gepid king, Traustila[1], returned with an unfavourable reply. No passage through his dominions would be conceded to the Ostrogoths; if they still desired it they must fight for it with the unconquered Gepidae. Then indeed was the distress of the wandering nation at its height. Famine, and the child of famine, pestilence, urged them on: behind them lay the frozen road[2] marked by their blood-stained footprints, before them a yet worse and steeper road, one which even a fugitive would have shunned, leading over a quivering morass and up to the frowning ranks of their enemies. The Gothic vanguard charged across the morass; many were swallowed up in its muddy waters; those who reached the opposite side were falling fast beneath the shower of lances which the mighty arms of the Gepidae hurled against their frail wicker-work breastplates[3]. In that apparent shipwreck of the fortunes of a noble nation, the calm valour of Theodoric saved his people. Like Henry IV at Ivri, he shouted, 'Whoso will fight the enemy let him follow me. Look not to any other leader, but only charge where you see my standard advancing. The Gepids shall know that a king attacks them; my people shall know that Theodoric saves them.' Then he called

BOOK IV. CH. 6.

488. Battle of the Ulca.

πεδίον ἀναπεπταμένον ἐκδέχεται πολύ τι καὶ εἰς ἄποψιν ἄπειρον. Victor (as above) says; 'Primumque apud Cibalas juxta paludem Hiulcam nomine, Constantino nocte castra Licinii irrumpente, Licinius fugam petiit.' Some MSS. read *Vulcam*.

[1] Or Trapstila (Miscella Historia).

[2] 'Instantibus Gepidis, amne, pestilentia iter quod declinasset fugiens . . . transvolasti.'

[3] 'Jejunas pectorum crates acta validioribus lacertis lancea transmeabat' (Ennodius, p. 174).

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 488. for a cup, and performed with it some old Teutonic rite by way of augury, the nature of which is not described to us[1], and on he dashed, urging his horse to a gallop. We may conjecture that his keen eye had discerned some causeway of solid ground through the morass, along which he led his followers. However this may be, his charge was completely successful. 'As a swollen river through the harvest-field, as a lion through the herd,' so did Theodoric career through the Gepid ranks, which everywhere melted away before him. In a moment the fortune of the day was turned. They who a little while ago were vaunting victors were now fugitives, wandering without cohesion over the plain, while the Amal king moved proudly on, no longer now at the head of his troops, but encompassed by thousands of stalwart guards.

Results of the battle. A great multitude of the enemy were slain, and only the approach of night saved the trembling remnant. What was more important, the store-waggons of the Gepidae fell into the hands of the Goths; and so well were they supplied with corn from all the cities of the neighbourhood, that the satisfied wanderers congratulated themselves on the pugnacity of their hosts, which provided them a feast such as they could never have obtained from their hospitality.

Other battles. How long the campaign against the Gepids lasted we know not. We hear vaguely from the Panegyrist of 'innumerable' other combats with the Sarmatians and others, the mention of which may or may not be due to some confusion with Theodoric's boyish

[1] 'His dictis, poculum causa poposcit auspicii' (p. 174). Do the words simply indicate the drinking of a cup of wine to the success of the Ostrogoths?

exploits in the same region. What seems certain is, that either in this guerilla warfare, or in mere foraging expeditions through a country which was of course perfectly familiar to the chief and to all but the mere striplings in his army (since they had migrated thence only sixteen years before), winter, spring, and the greater part of summer wore away. It was not till the month of August that the Ostrogoths, who may perhaps have marched by different routes, some up the valley of the Save, others by that of the Drave, and who may then have concentrated at Aemona (Laybach), finally crossed the Julian Alps, and descended by the road trodden by so many conquerors—Theodosius, Alaric, Attila—past the Pear-tree and the Frigid Stream, into the plains of that Italy which they were to win by bloody battle, to hold for sixty-six years, to love so fondly, and to lose so stubbornly.

BOOK IV. CH. 6.

488.

Descent into Italy, 489.

We are told that the flocks and herds which accompanied them on their march soon showed, by their improved condition, the superiority of the tender pastures of Italy over the scanty herbage of the Alpine uplands [1].

At the eleventh mile-stone from Aquileia (*Ad Undecimum*) the host reached the confluence of the river Frigidus with the Sontius (Isonzo), and here probably it was that Odovacar and his army stood ready to meet them and dispute their passage. South-westwards, in the sea-like plain, rose the ghostly ruins of Aquileia, over which near forty years of desolation had passed. No fleets of merchantmen lined her broken wharves; no workman's hammer resounded

Reach the Isonzo.

[1] Paulus, xv. 15.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 489. in her ruined Mint; the Baths, the Amphitheatre, the Forum, were all silent. Only, perhaps, a few black-robed priests and monks still clustered round the repaired basilica, keeping warm the embers of religious life in the province of Venetia, asserting the continuity, and preparing the way for the revival, of the power of the Patriarchate of Aquileia.

Odovacar and his subject-kings. Odovacar had taken a strong post on the Isonzo, and had fortified it strongly. In his well-defended camp a large army of various nationalities was mustered under his orders. Ennodius speaks of 'so many kings[1]' trooping to the war under Odovacar's banners. Pompous and inflated as his style is, it is difficult to suppose that this detail is absolutely devoid of truth. Perhaps, in the motley host who first acclaimed Odovacar as king, there may have been chiefs and princelings who retained some of their old semi-royal position towards their followers, while towards him they were but generals under a generalissimo. Perhaps also the nations on the Danube, Alamanni, Thuringians, Gepidae, had sent their contingents to defend the menaced throne of the conqueror of the Rugians.

Battle of the Isonzo, 28 Aug., 489. Of the battle of the Isonzo, which was fought on the 28th of August[2], we have no details. Odovacar had all the advantages of position, of preparation, and of a force which must surely have been more easily handled than the long train, encumbered with women and with waggons, which emerged from under the

[1] 'Tibi cum rectore meo, Odovacar, occurro, qui universas contra eum nationes, quasi orbis concussor, exciveras. Tot reges tecum ad bella convenerant, quot sustinere generalitas milites vix valeret.'

[2] v. Kal. Sept. (Cuspiniani Anon.)

shadow of the Tarnovaner Wald. But it is probably true, as Ennodius declares, that the vast mass of the defending armament wanted a soul. Its leader, who throughout this war shows not a single instinct of generalship nor trace of that soldierly dash which first made him conspicuous among his fellows, had probably grown torpid during his thirteen years of royalty, amid such animal delights as Italy could offer to a barbarian autocrat. And on the other side were three powerful champions, Youth in the leader, Loyalty in the led, and Despair in both. The deep river was crossed, the *vallum* climbed, the camp taken: a crowd of fugitives scattered over the plain announced to the villages of Venetia that the day of Odovacar's supremacy was drawing to a close [1].

BOOK IV. CH. 6.

489.

Theodoric dates his reign from this victory.

Odovacar fled from the Isonzo to the line of the Adige, thus abandoning the whole modern province of Venetia to the invader [2]. So large and so fair a slice of Northern Italy owning his sway, justified that invader in looking on himself as from that day forward a ruler in Italy, not the mere leader of a wandering host. Near the close of his reign, when a question arose how far back the judge might go in enquiring into the wrongful ouster of a Roman from his farm, Theodoric made his 'Statute of Limitations' commence with the victory of the Isonzo. 'If,' he said, 'the eviction took place after the time when by

[1] 'Non te castra longo munita tempore, non fluminis profunda tenuerunt: datum est hostibus tuis vallum construere, non tueri. Repente aequora fugacium discursus obnubit, per quae superandam domesticam tempestatem abeuntibus indixisti' (?).

[2] Not quite the whole, according to the Constantinian arrangement of the Empire. 'Venetia et Histria' reached as far as the Adda.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 489.

the favour of God we crossed the streams of the Sontius, when first the Empire of Italy received us, then let the farm be restored to its former owner, and that whether thirty years have since elapsed or not.' Further back than that, into the wrongs inflicted at the time of the Herulo-Rugian land settlement, Theodoric did not consider himself bound to travel or to enquire[1].

Odovacar's position.

Odovacar's next stand was to be made at Verona; and here 'in the Campus Minor,' as before at the Isonzo, he entrenched himself in a *fossatum*, a large square camp, doubtless surrounded with those deep fosses of which the archæologist who has studied the Roman military works in Britain and Germany can form some not wholly inadequate conception. On the top of the mound, formed of the earth thrown up out of the ditch, would probably be planted a line of sharp stakes. Here the attacked king stood at bay, having the line of the deep and rapid Adige behind him, to compel his followers to fight by the impossibility of escape[2]. There had been some vaunting words uttered by Odovacar in the parleys which preceded the combat; and 'if the tongue could have achieved victory instead of the right arm,' says Ennodius, 'his array of words would have been invincible.' But in truth his army was a very formidable one in point of numbers:

[1] 'Si Romanum praedium ex quo, Deo propitio, Sonti fluenta transmisimus, ubi primum Italiae nos suscepit imperium, sine delegatoris cujusquam pyctacio, praesumptor barbarus occupavit, eum priori domino submota dilatione restituat' (Variarum, i. 18). The 'pyctacium delegatoris' is practically equivalent to 'conveyance from the previous owner.'

[2] 'Electus est locorum situs, non tam congressui utilis quam pavori.'

and when Theodoric, on the night before the battle, pacing up and down, saw the wide extent of the camp-fires gleaming like earthly constellations upon the hills between him and Verona, his heart well-nigh died within him. But, as his panegyrist truly says, there was a certain calm and noble stability in the nature of the Ostrogothic king. He was not easily elated by good, nor depressed by adverse fortune, and his serene assurance of victory communicated itself to his countrymen.

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At dawn of the 30th of September[1] the trumpets of the two armies sounded for battle. While Theodoric was arming himself with breastplate of steel, was buckling on his greaves, and hanging to his side that sword which his Roman admirer calls 'the champion of freedom[2],' his mother Erelieva and his sister Amalfrida came to him, not to depress his courage by womanly lamentations, but, anxious as to the result of the day, to try to read in his beloved face the omens of victory. He reassured their doubting hearts with cheering words: 'Mother, this day it behoves me to show to the world that it was indeed a man-child whom you bore on that great day of the victory over the Huns. I too, in the play of lances, have to show myself worthy of my ancestors' renown by winning

Battle of Verona, 30 Sept., 489.

[1] 'At vero Odoachar abiit in Veronam, et fixit fossatum in campo minore Veronensi v. kalendas Octobris. Ibique persecutus est eum Theodericus, et, pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odoachar fugit Ravennam pridie kalendas Octobris' (Anon. Valesii, 50). Though this statement is not very clear, it seems to show that Odovacar entrenched himself at Verona on the 27th of September, and that his defeat and flight to Ravenna took place three days after.

[2] 'Dum munimentis chalybio pectus includeres, dum ocreis armarere, dum lateri tuo *vindex libertatis gladius* aptaretur.'

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 489. new victories of my own. Before my soul's eye stands my father, the mighty Theudemir, he who never doubted of victory, and therefore never failed to achieve it. Bring forth, oh my mother and my sister, my most splendid robes, those on which your fingers have worked the most gorgeous embroidery. I would be more gaily dressed on this day than on any holiday. If the enemy do not recognise me, as I trow they shall, by the violence of my onset, let them recognise me by the brilliancy of my raiment. If Fortune give my throat to the sword of the enemy, let him that slays me have a grand reward for his labour. Let them at least say, "How splendid he looks in death," if they have not the chance to admire me fighting.' With these words of joyous confidence, instinct with the life of the coming age of chivalry, Theodoric leaped on his charger and was soon in the thickest of the fray. It was time for him to make his appearance. Even while he was saying his farewells, the Ostrogoths were slightly wavering under the onset of the enemy. The charge of Theodoric and his chosen troops restored the fortunes of the day. There are indications, however, that the victory, perhaps owing to the position of the Rugo-Herulian troops which made escape all but impossible, was more stubbornly contested than that of the Isonzo, and that the Ostrogothic loss was heavy [1]. Before the end of the day, however, the troops of Odovacar were all cut to pieces, or whelmed beneath the swift waves of the Adige, save a few bold swimmers who may have escaped, Horatius-like, by swimming the stream [2]. In these

[1] 'Ceciderunt populi ab *utraque* parte' (Ennodius).

[2] It seems that Verona was considered the greatest of Theo-

fierce battles of Teuton against Teuton, we hear nothing of quarter asked or granted. Apparently Odovacar, in order to urge his troops to more desperate efforts, must have broken down the bridge behind them leading to Verona[1]. He himself escaped, but not westward. He sped across the plain, towards the south-east, and took refuge in the impregnable Ravenna. One authority, of a late date, says that he first fled to Rome, and finding the gates of the city closed against him, wasted the surrounding country with fire and sword[2]. In the face, however, of the clear testimony of the contemporary writer, whom scholars call the Chronographer of Ravenna[3], and who

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489.

Flight of Odovacar to Ravenna.

doric's victories. There is something deserving of consideration in the suggestion of Pallmann (ii. 449–450) that it was from this victory, rather than from his occasional residence at Verona as sovereign, that Theodoric acquired the name by which he is so well known in Saga, 'Dietrich of *Bern*.'

[1] Ennodius, in describing the battle of Verona, becomes almost sublime. 'Oh, Adige,' he says, 'all hail! most illustrious of rivers, who hast washed away the stain of Italy, keeping thine own blue waters pure.' But then he goes on to describe the harvest of human bones which whitened all the plain, and, with a ferocity as inconsistent with his sacred character as with good taste, regrets that this memorial of the triumph of Theodoric and of the ended woes of Italy cannot *always* be preserved. He regrets that the grazing cattle are continually destroying these relics of the battlefield: 'O utinam voracibus abripere aliquid bestiis non liceret! Perit desiderabili spectaculo quod acquisiverint furta belluarum.'

[2] This is the account of Paulus (end of eighth century) in the Historia Miscella: 'Odovacer autem cum his qui evaserant fugiens Romam contendit, sed obseratis continuo portis exclusus est. Qui dum sibi denegari introitum cerneret, omnia quaeque adtingere potuit gladio flammisque consumpsit. Inde quoque egrediens Ravennam ingressus est,' etc. (xv. 15).

[3] As copied by the *Anonymus Valesii*, § 50, and especially by the Copenhagen MS. of the Continuator of Prosper (sometimes

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 489. evidently watched the successive acts of the bloody drama with minute and eager interest, it seems safer to affirm that the beaten king fled at once from the battle-field to the secure shelter of Ravenna and her dykes [1].

Theodoric at Milan. Theodoric meanwhile repaired to Mediolanum, that great city which had been so often in the third and fourth centuries the residence of emperors, and which was still the most important city of the Province of Liguria, as its successor, Milan, is of the modern Lombardy. Here he received the submission of a large part of the army of his rival. Great as had been the number of the slain, it was still a goodly host which stood before him, their arms bright and dazzling as a German's arms were bound to be on a day of parade, and which, probably by the clash of spear on shield, acclaimed him as victor and lord [2]. The Amal's heart may well have beat high at the sight, and it doubtless seemed to him that the labour of conquest was over and that he was indisputed lord of Italy.

But this early success was a delusion. Easily as

called the Chronicle of 641), *et Ravennam cum exercitu fugiens pervenit.*

[1] Immediately after his description of the battle of Verona, Ennodius inserts a spirited appeal to Rome: 'I wish that you, oh venerable city, notwithstanding your age, could come and see this sight. Why do you always remain cooped up in your mouldering temples? Come here and see the clemency of our king,' and so on. It seems to me possible that this apostrophe, misunderstood by some later author, may have originated the story of Odovacar's flight to Rome.

[2] 'Ecce iterum ad deditionem sibi cognitam hostium leto debita pars cucurrit: et cum excessissent occumbentes numerum ad servitium tamen armis instructa radiantibus agmina convenerunt' (Ennodius).

489. Double treachery of Tufa.

these Teutonic bands turned about from one lord to another, there was still too much vitality in the cause of Odovacar for him to be abandoned so utterly by his followers as seemed to be the case at Milan in October 489. Treason to the new lord was already preparing itself in the hearts of the surrendered army, and the manager, for a time the successful manager, of this treasonable movement, which seemed likely to change the whole course of the war, was *Tufa*. This man, evidently a person of mark in the Rugo-Herulian army, perhaps one of the 'kings' whom Ennodius describes as commanding it, had been solemnly, in an assembly of the chiefs, appointed *Magister Militum* by Odovacar on the 1st of April in this year [1]. The part which he now played, whether it were the result of deep and calculated treachery or simply of unreasoning impulse, vibrating backwards and forwards between the old master and the new, reminds a modern reader of the conduct of Marshal Ney in 1815, setting forth from Paris with the assurance to Louis XVIII that he would in a week bring back the Corsican usurper in an iron cage, and, before the week was over, deserting to Napoleon with all his troops. But assuredly, if Tufa may pair off with Ney, we are under no temptation to carry the parallel further. The glorious young

[1] 'Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, *necnon et Tufa magister militum quem ordinaverat Odoachar cum optimatibus suis kal. Aprilis*' (An. Val. § 51). The combination of the Germanic Folc-mote ('cum optimatibus suis') with the Roman office of Magister Militum is curious. I entirely dissent from Pallmann's view that the date (kal. Apr.) applies to the defection of Tufa rather than to his appointment. This mistake (as I think it) has led him to attribute to 490 some of the events of 489.

BOOK IV. CH. 6.

489.

Amal king is as much above the gouty Bourbon epicure, as the incapable resourceless Odovacar is below the mighty Napoleon.

He betrays Theodoric's friends to Odovacar.

Theodoric, who seems to have been thoroughly blinded by his confidence in Tufa, sent him, probably within a few days after the interview at Milan, to besiege his old master at Ravenna. Tufa advanced along the great Æmilian Way, as far as Faventia[1], about eighteen miles from that city. There he began the blockade of the capital, but when Odovacar came forth, came to Faventia itself, and had an interview with his former subordinate, Tufa changed again, abandoned the cause of Theodoric, and had the baseness to surrender the 'Comites Theodorici,' probably some Ostrogothic nobles, members of the *Comitatus* of Theodoric, into the hands of Theodoric's enemy. They were loaded with chains and brought into Ravenna, and there they appear to have been foully murdered by Odovacar, an event which, more than any other, embittered the contest of the two rivals.

Theodoric withdraws to Ticinum.

This defection of Tufa, accompanied probably by a large part of the troops committed to his charge, caused a violent revulsion in the fortunes of Theodoric. The Ostrogoth, who had been dreaming of dominion, now found himself again called upon to plan for the mere safety and subsistence of himself and his people. Milan seemed to him too exposed, too accessible from Ravenna, to be safely selected as his winter-quarters. He chose instead the city of Ticinum (*Pavia*), which resting on two rivers, the Ticino and the Po, would offer more difficulties to an advancing army. Here

[1] The modern Faenza, which has given its name *faïence* to French earthenware.

too still dwelt the saintly bishop Epiphanius, towards whom, notwithstanding the difference of his creed, the young Ostrogoth seems to have been drawn, as Ricimer and Euric had been drawn[1], by the transparent beauty and holiness of his character. He said at once, 'Here is a bishop who in all the East has not his equal, whom even to have seen is a high privilege.' And, according to the biographer, he added that the city must be safe where such a good man dwelt, that here was a wall which no soldiers could storm, no Balearic slingers could over-shoot. Whether he indulged in quite such soaring flights of rhetoric or not, it is clear that he did select Pavia not only for his own quarters in the winter of 489–490, but also as a place of safe deposit where he might leave his venerable mother, and where all the other non-combatants of the Gothic army might be collected, for what remained to them of the war, a period, as it turned out, of three years[2]. During this period, Epiphanius played his difficult part with that success which is sometimes the reward of a perfectly simple and unselfish character, surrounded by unscrupulous and greedy men. Though he evidently inclined to the side of Theodoric, he succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with Odovacar. He obtained from both princes the one boon on which his heart was set, the liberation of 'prisoners and captives,' and this not for his own Roman compatriots only. Often did an Ostrogoth or a Turcilingian, whose wife and children had

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489–492. Epiphanius and Theodoric.

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 470, 490.

[2] Ennodius's Life of St. Epiphanius now again becomes an authority, side by side with his Panegyric on Theodoric. The former mentions the *name* of Tufa ('homo in perfugarum infamia notitia veteri pollutus'), which is absent from the latter.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 490.

fallen into the hands of the enemy, obtain, through the prayers of the Bishop, that redemption which gold would have been powerless to procure. To the not over-welcome guests in his own city the generosity of Epiphanius was conspicuous. It was a singular state of affairs, as his biographer truly, if somewhat bombastically, points out. 'Those forces of Theodoric, which the whole East had scarcely been able to support, were now contracted within the limits of a single town. You saw that town swarming with the gatherings of tribesmen, the heads of mighty clans cooped up in narrow hovels. Whole homesteads seemed to have migrated from their foundations, and scarcely was there standing-room for the new inhabitants.' In these strangely altered circumstances of his diocese the Bishop applied himself to relieve, to the utmost of his ability, the bodily needs of the new-comers, forgetting, or teaching himself to forget, that it was by them and such as them that the estates of his bishopric had been laid waste, and his own income pitiably diminished. And living, as he had now to live, for three years, constantly under the eyes of 'a most clever people, quickly touched by the lightest breath of suspicion, in troublous times such as make even gentle hearts cruel through fear,' he showed himself so uniformly kind and true that he retained their unwavering esteem and confidence. As has been already said, the princes, who were at deadly war with one another, agreed in venerating Epiphanius[1].

[1] 'Videres urbem familiarium coetibus scatentem: domorum immanium culmina in angustissimis resecata tuguriis: cerneres a fundamentis aedificia immensa migrare (?); nec ad recipiendam habitantum densitatem solum ipsum posse sufficere.

The campaign of the year 490 was marked by the formation of great transalpine alliances which, though we hear but vaguely concerning them, must have exercised an important influence on the fortunes of the war. Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, of whom we have heard nothing since, sixteen years before, he left his client Glycerius defenceless against Nepos and stole back to his own kingdom by the Rhone[1], now seeing the tide apparently on the turn against Theodoric, and fearing probably that, if he conquered, the Ostrogoth of Italy and the Visigoth of Gaul would join hands and the Burgundian would have an evil time between them[2], invaded Liguria with a large army[3]. Whether he came as an ally of Odovacar to effect a seasonable diversion in his favour, or simply to rob and ravage on his own account, is not clear from history, very possibly was not altogether clear to the

BOOK IV. CH. 6.

490. The Burgundians help Odovacar.

474.

'Cum sagacissima gente habitans, et quam nulla suspicionum aura praetervolat, in rebus dubiis quando metus periculi etiam mitia contra quoslibet corda sollicitat, sic illis fidelissimus exstitit, ut inimicos eorum toto devinctos teneret affectu, et inter dissidentes principes solus esset qui pace frueretur amborum.'

The remark as to the effect of fear in making men cruel is worthy of a better writer than Ennodius.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 482.

[2] This is well pointed out by Köpke, p. 173.

[3] The words of the Historia Miscella are so clear, and so completely harmonise with the allusion in Ennodius (Panegyric, p. 177), that, entirely uncontradicted as they are by any of the chroniclers, I do not like to disregard them, though Binding (pp. 103–4) takes a different view of the time and cause of this invasion. The Historia Miscella says, 'Talium rerum varietates [the treachery of Tufa and Theodoric's withdrawal to Pavia] Burgundionum rex Gundubatus aspiciens Liguriam cum ingenti exercitu ingressus cuncta quae reperire poterat pro voluntate diripiens infinitam secum ad Gallias captivorum multitudinem abduxit.'

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 490. mind of the Burgundian. What is undoubted, is that Theodoric, in some way, either by force or favour, caused him to abandon his opposition, that a treaty was concluded between them which in after years was ripened into a firm and lasting friendship, but that, in the mean time, Gundobad, in returning across the Alps, took with him a long train of captives who were to languish in exile for at least four years, while their native fields in Liguria were well-nigh relapsing into a wilderness for lack of cultivators.

The Visigoths and Theodoric. The natural counterpoise to the Burgundians in the political scale was the power of the Visigoths, and those remote kinsmen of the people of Theodoric interfered on his behalf in this campaign. Odovacar seems to have occupied the months of spring and early summer in winning back the country between Ravenna and Cremona, aided perhaps by the attacks of Gundobad on Liguria which called all Theodoric's energies to the western end of the valley of the Po. Milan was then visited by Odovacar, and roughly handled by him in retribution for the readiness with which its bishop, Laurentius, and its principal citizens had welcomed Theodoric in the preceding year. At length, on the river Addua (*Adda*), ten miles east of Milan, the great battle of the year was fought. We only know that in it Theodoric was helped by his Visigothic kinsmen, and that, after another terrible slaughter on both sides, victory again rested on the standards of Theodoric. In this battle Odovacar lost his Count of the Domestics, the officer who had superintended the emigration of the provincials from Noricum to Campania, and to whom he had given the lands in Melita and Syracuse, his faithful friend and counsellor

Battle of the Adda, 11 August, 490.

Pierius. Odovacar himself fled, and again shut himself up by the lagoons of Ravenna, never more to emerge from their shelter. BOOK IV. CH. 6. 490.

It is apparently to the same year, 490, that we must refer a mysterious movement against the followers of Odovacar all over Italy, of which we have some dark intimations in the Panegyric of Ennodius. He speaks of it as in some sort a counter-blow to the treachery of Tufa. General assassination of the followers of Odovacar.

'It pleased them [Tufa and his confederates] to promise a kingdom to Odovacar when he again stretched out a peaceful hand towards them. But, as soon as their deed was brought to light, the miscalculation which their hostile minds had made became apparent. You [Theodoric] appealed to that Providence which watched over all your steps, and, that the greed of those deserters might not go unpunished, you unfurled the banners of revenge and made the *people*, whose friendship to you was now thoroughly proved, the confidant of your secret designs. Not one of your adversaries got scent of the scheme, though more than half the world had to share it with you. Over the most widely severed districts [of Italy] was arranged a sacrificial slaughter[1]. What but the will of the Most High can have brought this to pass, that in one instant of time the score which had been so long accumulating against the slaughters of the Roman name should be wiped away?' It has been truly pointed out by the best of our German guides[2], that these words point to a kind of 'Sicilian Vespers' of the followers of Odovacar all over Italy: and, from the

[1] 'Mandata est per regiones disjunctissimas nex votiva.'

[2] Dahn, ii. 10.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 490. sanctimonious manner in which the Bishop claims Heaven as an accomplice in the bloody deed, we may perhaps infer that the Roman clergy generally were privy to the plot.

Blockade of Ravenna. The action of the drama for the next three years is almost entirely confined to Ravenna, which city, Caesena and Rimini, were the only places in Italy that still held out for Odovacar. Theodoric seems to have recognised the impossibility of taking Ravenna by assault. His only hope was to reduce it by blockade, and that was a slender hope, so long as he was not master of the Hadriatic and vessels could enter the harbour of Classis, bringing provisions to the besieged king. However, he occupied a position 'in the Pineta,' in that magnificent pine-wood which every traveller to Ravenna knows so well, skirting its eastern horizon and shutting out the sight of the sea. Here, at three miles distance from the city[1], he entrenched himself with a deep and widely extended *fossatum*, and waited for events. His taking up this position, eastward, that is sea-ward of the city, probably implied a determination to cut off, as much as possible, all succours from the sea, while his flying squadrons no doubt blocked the communications with the Æmilian Way and effectually prevented assistance by land. The blockade, by one means or other, must have been a tolerably effective one, since corn, in the markets of Ravenna, rose to the famine price of six solidi per modius, equivalent to seventy-two shillings a peck, or £115 4*s*. a quarter. This was, it is true, not quite equal to the price (£192 a quarter) paid in the camp

Famine price of corn in Ravenna.

[1] Jordanes, De Reb. Geticis, lvii ('Tertio fere miliario ab urbe locus').

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 490.

of Jovian during the disastrous retreat of the Roman army from Persia[1]. But, on the other hand, in the good days that were coming for Italy under the peaceful reign of that very Theodoric whose *fossatum* now caused such terrible distress to the Queen of the Hadriatic, the ordinary price of one modius of wheat was to be not six solidi but one-sixtieth of a solidus, equivalent to 6*s*. 4*d*. a quarter[2].

Theodoric sends Faustus on an embassy to Constantinople.

Before the year 490 ended, Theodoric, considering himself now *de facto* lord of Italy, sent Faustus, a Roman noble, chief of the Senate and Consul for the year, to claim from Zeno the imperial robes, perhaps also the imperial diadem, which Odovacar, in his politic modesty, had sent to Constantinople after the downfall of Augustulus. Faustus, however, probably arrived only in time to stand by the wretched and crime-polluted death-bed of the Emperor, to hear his ravings about the guardsman who was to be his successor, and to behold his remorse for the murder of Pelagius. In April of the next year Zeno was a corpse, and Anastasius the Silentiary reigned in his stead. From him Theodoric was one day to receive the recognition which he desired, but he was not to receive it yet.

Odovacar's sortie from Ravenna, July, 491.

The chief event of the year 491 was a desperate sally made from Ravenna by the besieged king. Odovacar had by some means or other procured a reinforcement of Heruli fresh from their Danubian home. With these recruits, seeing that Theodoric was dwelling securely behind his *fossatum*, and believing him to have relaxed his guard, he one night issued forth from Ravenna and attacked the entrenchment of the Goths. The battle was long, and great was the

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv. 8. [2] Anon. Valesii, 53.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 491. number of the slain on both sides. But, at length, Odovacar had again to acknowledge himself defeated. His *Magister Militum*, a certain Libila (or Levila), was slain, perhaps drowned in attempting to cross the sluggish and slimy Ronco[1]. The Heruli, as Ennodius exultingly remarks[2], after making proof of Theodoric's prowess in their own home, had now an opportunity of repeating the experience on Italian soil. This engagement occurred about the 10th (or 15th) of July. Odovacar again retired into his lair; and Theodoric, a month later, returned to his temporary capital at Pavia. It is possible that the Burgundian invader was not yet finally disposed of: and no doubt the home-loving Ostrogoth longed again to behold the faces of his mother and his children. Of course, the blackade was continued with unabated vigour.

18 or 22 Aug., 491.

Lull in the war, 492.

In the year 492 we have again a strange dearth of events in the early part of the year; the only incident which our careful diarists at Ravenna have to record being that, on the 26th of May, 'an earthquake took place at night before the crowing of the cocks.' Possibly both parties sought to strengthen themselves for each campaign by drawing fresh recruits from beyond the Alps, in which case the difficulty of crossing the snow-covered passes might well postpone the conflict of the year till June or July. Theodoric, however, now took a step, which probably should have

Theodoric at Rimini.

[1] Called Bedens (? for Bedesis) by the chronicler.

[2] 'Consumpta res est prospero fatalique bello; succisa est Odovacris praesumptio [alluding to the sortie], postquam eum contigit de fallacia non juvari. Quid Herulorum agmina fusa commemorem? qui ideo adversus te deducti sunt ut hic agnoscerent, etiam in propriis sedibus quem timerent' (Enn. Paneg. p. 176, ed. Migne).

been taken before, in order to make his blockade perfect. He went southward to Ariminum, about thirty miles distant (one sees the Rock of S. Marino which overhangs Rimini, cutting the horizon as one looks southward from the church towers of Ravenna), and he appears to have reduced that town to his obedience. What was more important, he made himself master of a fleet of cutters (called *dromones*, 'runners,' in the Latin of that age). With these he arrived at the Lion's Harbour, a port about six miles from Ravenna, where in later days he built a small palace—perhaps a country retreat—in a camp which, probably from this circumstance, was called *Fossatum Palatioli*. Here we must leave him, watching with ships and soldiers against the entrance of any provisions into Ravenna, while the scene shifts for a moment to the banks of the Ticino and the Adige.

BOOK IV. CH. 6.

492.

His fleet of cutters.

Few men, one would think, in the Ostrogothic army had more powerful motives for loyalty than Frederic prince of the Rugians. His father and mother had been led into captivity by the armies of Odovacar, he himself, twice defeated and expelled by the same armies, had sought the palace of Theodoric a helpless fugitive. As a member of Theodoric's *Comitatus*, he had now entered Italy, and had fought by his side in three, perhaps in four, bloody battles. He was, if he could exercise patience and fidelity for a few months longer, about to taste delicious and long-delayed vengeance on the enemy of his race. Yet, with characteristic fickleness, at this crisis, or perhaps some months earlier, Frederic deserted the standards of Theodoric and entered into a treasonable correspondenee with the double traitor Tufa, who,

Treachery of Frederic the Rugian.

His junction with Tufa.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 492. with some sort of army under his orders, was still roving about the plains of Lombardy. Perhaps some remembrance of their common Rugian nationality working in the mind of Frederic drew him away from the Ostrogothic chief, and towards the followers of Odovacar. Perhaps Theodoric had not assigned a sufficiently high place in his counsels to the son of a king whose word had once been the mightiest in all the regions of the Middle Danube. More probably, Frederic saw simply a better chance of plunder and of eventual kingship by fighting for his own hand, and with barbarian naturalness went straight towards what seemed to be his own interests, without troubling himself for fine words to justify his treason.

The Rugians at Ticinum. The Rugians occupied Pavia; this we know from the distress which they caused to the soul of the saintly Epiphanius. Possibly enough, they may have laid their hands on some of the moveable property of the Ostrogoths in that City of Refuge: but the women and children and the rest of the non-combatants must have escaped unharmed, for we should certainly have heard of it had there been any general massacre. For nearly two years the Rugians made Pavia their head-quarters. 'A race,' says Ennodius, 'hideous by every kind of savagery, whose minds, full of cruel energy, prompted them to daily crimes. In fact, they thought that a day was wasted which had passed unsignalised by any kind of outrage[1].' The sweet discourses of the prelate, however, softened even

[1] The reflection shows that Ennodius, at any rate, had heard of the celebrated saying of the Emperor Titus, who was not honoured by the use made by the Rugians of his 'Hodie diem perdidi.'

these wild men's hearts. 'Who could hear without astonishment that the Rugians, who will scarcely condescend to obey even kings, both feared and loved a bishop, a Catholic and a Roman? Yet so it was; and when the time for their departure came, they left him even with tears, although they were returning to their parents and families[1].'

End of the Rugian under-war.

The mention of a period of 'nearly two years' for the stay of the Rugians at Pavia, coming as it does after the description of three years of Gothic tarriance in that city, brings us down nearly to the end of 494 for the date of their final expulsion. As we shall see, Odovacar had disappeared from the scene before that date. The Rugians therefore probably continued fighting on their own account, and required a separate castigation from Theodoric. But of all this we have no record.

Quarrel between Tufa and Frederic.

We do know however that, in the year with which we are now dealing (492), the two traitors Tufa and Frederic quarrelled about the division of the spoil[2]. A battle ensued between them in the valley of the Adige, betwixt Trient and Verona. After many thousands of men had been killed on both sides, the death of Tufa put an end to the battle. Frederic, as

Death of Tufa.

[1] 'Quis sine grandi stupore credat dilexisse et timuisse Rugos episcopum et catholicum et Romanum, qui parere [*al.* parcere] regibus vix dignantur? cum quibus tamen integrum pene biennium exegit taliter, ut ab eo flentes discederent, etiam ad parentes et familias regressuri' (Ennodius, Vita Epiphanii, p. 226, ed. Migne).

[2] The chronicler calls them both 'Magistri Militum.' Tufa therefore still held this rank in Odovacar's army, and Frederic, notwithstanding his defection, perhaps still called himself Magister Militum of Theodoric.

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 492. has been said above, probably remained to trouble his benefactor some little time longer, but henceforth he disappears from history. Ennodius is jubilant, and not without cause, over this merciful arrangement of Providence, by which the two traitorous enemies of the King were made to counter-work one another's evil designs, and Frederic first earned, at the expense of Tufa, the triumph which his own defeat was afterwards to yield to Theodoric.

Famine in Ravenna, 493. The year 493, the fifth year of the war, the fourth of the siege, the second of the complete blockade, of Ravenna, opened upon a terrible state of things in the hunger-stricken capital. Men were staying the gnawing of their stomachs by eating hides and all kinds of unclean and horrible victuals, and still they were dying fast of famine[1].

Surrender of Ravenna. At length the stubborn heart of Odovacar was quelled. He commenced negotiations for a surrender, and on the 25th of February he handed over his son Thelane as a hostage for his fidelity. On the following day Theodoric entered Classis in state, that seaport being probably assigned to the Ostrogothic army for their head-quarters. On the next day, 27th of February, peace was formally made between Theodoric and Odovacar, John the Archbishop of Ravenna acting as mediator.

Terms of the capitulation. The life of the defeated king was to be safe[2]. Nay more, he and his conqueror were, at any rate in

[1] 'Coria vel alia immunda et horrida urguebantur comedere, et multa corpora quae servata sunt a gladio, fames peremit' (Agnellus, p. 67, apud Muratori).

[2] 'Accepta fide securum se esse de sanguine' (Anon. Valesii, 54).

appearance, to be joint rulers of the Western Empire. The arrangement was so obviously destitute of any of the elements of stability, so sure to breed plots and counter-plots, so impotent a conclusion to the long blockade of Ravenna, that we might hesitate[1] to accept its accuracy, but that a recently-discovered fragment of the well-informed John of Antioch confirms the statement of Procopius too emphatically to allow us to reject it[2].

BOOK IV. CH. 6. 493.

It was not till the 5th of March that the victorious Ostrogoth rode through the gates of Ravenna, and took possession of the city which for the remaining thirty-three years of his life was to be his home. Before he entered the Archbishop went forth to meet him, 'with crosses and thuribles and the Holy Gospels,' and with a long train of priests and monks. Falling prostrate on the ground, while his followers sang a penitential psalm, he prayed that 'the new King from the East' would receive him into his peace. The request was granted, not only for himself and the citizens of Ravenna, but for all the Roman inhabitants of Italy. The terms of the real peace had no doubt been strenuously debated with the Teutonic comrades of Odovacar; but a ceremony like this, pre-arranged in all probability between the King and the Archbishop, was judged proper, in order to impress vividly on the minds both of Italians and Ostrogoths that Theodoric came as the friend of the Catholic Church

5 March, 493, Theodoric enters Ravenna.

[1] With Dahn, Könige der Germ. ii. 81.

[2] John of Antioch says: Θ. καὶ Ὀ. συνθήκας καὶ συμβάσεις ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄμφω ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς (Fr. 214 a). Procopius: Ὑπὸ διαλλακτῇ τῷ Ῥαβέννης ἱερεῖ ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνιᾶσιν ἐφ' ᾧ Θ. τε καὶ Ὀ. ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ διαίτῃ ἕξουσι (De Bell. Goth. i. 1).

BOOK IV. CH. 6. and of the vast population which, even in accepting a new master, still clung to the great name of Roman.

493. Assassination of Odovacar. For ten days there were frequent interviews between the two chieftains; then, on the 15th of March, the Ostrogoth invited his rival to a banquet in the Palace of the Laurel-Grove, at the south-east corner of the city. Odovacar came attended by his faithful *comitatus*, but was probably led to a seat of honour and thus separated from his friends. Two men knelt before him to prefer some pretended request, and clasped his hands in the earnestness of their entreaty. Then rushed forth some soldiers who had been placed in ambush in two alcoves on either side of the banquet-hall. But when they came in sight of the victim, something in his aspect, either his kingly majesty or possibly his white hairs[1], or simply the fact that he was defenceless, struck such a chill into their hearts that they could not attack him. Then strode forth Theodoric and raised his sword to strike him. 'Where is God?' cried Odovacar in a vain appeal to Divine justice. 'This is what thou didst to my friends,' shouted Theodoric, kindling his rage by the remembrance of his comrades, slain by his rival after their base betrayal by Tufa. The blow descended on Odovacar's collar-bone, and stayed not till the sword had reached his loin. Theodoric himself was surprised at the trenchancy of his stroke, and said with a brutal laugh, 'I think the wretch had never a bone in his body.'

Death of his relatives. The assassinated king was at once buried in a stone coffin close by the Hebrew synagogue. His *comitatus*, powerless to save him, fell in the same fatal banquet-

[1] He was now in the 60th year of his age (Jo. Ant. fr. 214).

hall[1]. His brother (possibly Onoulf) was shot down with arrows while attempting to escape through the palace garden. Sunigilda, the wife of Odovacar, was closely imprisoned, and died of hunger. Their son Thelane[2], whom his father in prosperous days had designated as Caesar, and who had more recently been given over as a hostage for his fidelity, was sent off to Gaul, doubtless to Theodoric's Visigothic ally King Alaric, and, having subsequently escaped thence to Italy, was put to death by order of the conqueror. So did the whole brood perish, and Italy had but one undoubted master, the son of Theudemir.

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493.

No! It was not well done by thee, descendant of so many Amal kings! Whatever a mere Roman emperor, a crowned upstart of yesterday, might do in breaking faith with his rivals, a Basiliscus or an Armatius, thou shouldest have kept thy Teutonic truth inviolate. And so, when we enter that wonderful cenotaph of the Middle Ages, the church of the Franciscans at Innsbruck, and see thee standing there, in size more than human, beside the bearers of the greatest names of chivalry, Frankish Charles and British Arthur, and Godfrey with the Crown of Thorns; one memory, and hardly more than one, prevents our classing thee with the purest and the noblest of them,—the memory of thy assassinated rival Odovacar.

[1] Cuspiniani Anon.

[2] Or Oclan.

NOTE D. The 'Annals of Ravenna' on the War between Odovacar and Theodoric.

NOTE D.

In order to bring the nature of the materials for the history of this struggle before the mind of the reader, and especially to show the curious dependence of four of our authorities on the

488.	Anon. Valesii.	Continuatio Prosperi, Cod. Havniensis seu Chronog. A.D. 641.	Chronicon Cuspiniani.
Dynamius and Sifidius Consuls. Theodoric starts for Italy late in the autumn.	'Ergo superveniente Theoderico patricio de civitate Nova cum gente Gothica, missus ab imperatore Zenone de partibus orientis ad defendendam sibi Italiam cui	**Dinamio et Sifidio.**	**Dinamio et Sifidio.** His Cons. arsit pontus Apollinaris [in Ravenna] noctu in pascha xv. Kal. majas.
489. **Anicius Probinus and Eusebius Consuls.** 1 April, Tufa appointed Magister Militum by Odovacar. 28 Aug. Battle of the Isonzo. 27 Sep. Odovacar entrenches himself at Verona. 30 Sep. Battle of Verona. Flight of Odovacar to Ravenna.	occurrit venienti Odoachar ad fluvium Sontium, et ibi pugnans cum eodem, victus fugit. At vero Odoachar abiit in Veronam et fixit fossatum in campo minore Veronense v. Kalendas Octobris, ibique persecutus est eum Theodericus, et pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odoachar fugit Ravennam pridie Kalendas Octobris.	**Probino et Eusebio Fausto Jun. V. C.** [490] Hoc consule Theudoricus rex Gothorum ingressus est fossatum ponte Sontis adversum Odoachar regem. Quem cum ingenti copia hostium munitum et insolentis animi cerneret non posse eum vi superare, timore perculsus aufugit ac se Veronensi oppido cum exercitu recedit. Quem cum rex Theudoricus fugisse se coram comperit, expers bellicis rebus	**Probino et Eusebio Fausto V. C.** [490] His cons. ingressus est rex Theodoricus in fossato pontis Sontio v. Kl. Sept. et fugit Odoacar rex de fossato et abiit Beronam.

common source now perished, which is called the 'Annals of Ravenna,' the extracts from the chroniclers relating to this period are here arranged side by side. It will be seen that their chronological data differ exceedingly, but, to facilitate comparison, the extracts are all reduced to that which is now ascertained to be the true chronology. The date, and an abstract of the information gathered from them all, are placed in the first column. A few references to Ennodius, Jordanes, and Procopius are also appended. The reader must not expect grammatical accuracy either in the Chroniclers or in Agnellus.

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	ENNODII PANEGYRICUS THEODERICI.
Cum istius temporibus pons Apollenaris Ravennae concrematus est nocte in Pascha quarto Nonas Aprilis.	**Dinamius et Sifidius.**	**Dinamio et Sifidio Coss.** Eodem anno Theodoricus rex omnium suorum multitudine assumpta Gothorum in Italiam tendit.	Igitur egressus urbe regia Theodoricus et ad suos revertens omnem gentem Gothorum, qui tamen ei praebuerunt consensum, Hesperiam tendit, rectoque itinere per Sirmis ascendit vicina Pannoniae,	Tunc a te commonitis longe lateque viribus innumeros diffusa per populos gens una contrahitur migrante te cum ad Ausoniam mundo etc. (p. 173, ed. Migne). Ulca fluvius est tutela Gepidarum etc. (p. 173). Transeo Sarmatas cum statione migrantes etc. (p. 174).
	Probinus et Eusebius. [486] His Coss. felicissimus atque fortissimus D. N. Rex Theodericus intravit Italiam, cui Odoacer ad Isontium pugnam parans victus cum tota gente fugatus est. Eodem anno repetito conflictu Veronae vincitur Odoacer.	**Eusebio et Probino Coss.** Idem Theodoricus rex Gothorum optatam occupavit Italiam. Odoacer itidem rex Gothorum metu Theodorici perterritus Ravennam ingressus est.	indeque Venetiarum fines ingressus ad Pontem Sontii nuncupatum castra metatus est. Cumque ibi ad reficienda corpora hominum jumentorumque aliquanto tempore resedisset, Odoacer armatum contra eum direxit exercitum. Quem ille ad campos Veronenses occurrens magna strage	Tibi cum rectore meo, Odovacar, occurro, qui universas contra eum nationes quasi orbis concussor exciveras. Tot reges tecum ad bella convenerant, quot sustinere generalitas milites vix valeret etc. Non te castra longo munita tempore, non fluminis profunda tenuerunt etc. (p. 174).

489.	Anon. Valesii.	Continuatio Prosperi, Cod. Havniensis seu Chronog. A.D. 641.	Chronicon Cuspiniani.
Theodoric goes to Milan. Double treachery of Tufa.	Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, nec non et Tufa magister militum, quem ordinaverat Odoachar cum optimatibus suis Kal. Aprilis. Eo anno missus est Tufa magister militum a Theoderico contra Odoacrem Ravennam. Veniens Faventiam Tufa, obsedit Odoacrem cum exercitu cum quo directus fuerat; et exiit Odoachar de Ravenna et venit Faventiam, et Tufa tradidit Odoacri comites patricii Theoderici, et missi sunt in ferro, et adducti Ravennam.	atque triumphalis gloriae capax animus, non metuendum fore hostes persequi, si semel devicti cesserint, et victoriam in propatulo habere acris ingenii animus intueretur, si eum ibi usque persequeretur, quod praesidium non virorum robore sed murorum munitione sese habere putaret, ad Veronam usque persecutus est. Quem cum Odoacher adventasse ad sui obsidionem cerneret, tedio victus collectis bellatorum copiis sese in campo Veronensi minore obvium objecit. Ubi cum magnae strages ab utroque exercitu fierent, dum unum desperatae rei necessitas cogeret, alterum ne ceptae victoriae gloriam fuga macularet, diu utrisque pugnantibus tandem victus Odoachar fugit et Ravennam cum exercitu fugiens pervenit.	
490. **Longinus (II) and Faustus.** Burgundian invasion (?). Visigothic alliance. March of Odovacar to Cremona and Milan. Battle of the Addua (11 August). Death of Pierius. Odovacar again shut up in Ravenna. Massacre of his adherents throughout Italy (?). Embassy of Faustus to Constantinople.	**Fausto et Longino** [490]. His consulibus Odoachar rex exiit de Cremona et ambulavit Mediolanum. Tunc venerunt Wisigothae in adjutorium Theoderici, et facta est pugna super fluvium Adduam, et ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte: et occisus est Pierius comes domesticorum iii. idus Augustas, et fugit Odoachar Ravennam, et mox subsecutus est eum patricius Theodericus veniens in Pineta, et fixit fossatum, obsidens Odoacrem clausum per triennium in Ravenna, et	**Olibrio juniore V. C. Cons.** [491]. Odoachar rex ab RavennaMediolanum rediit, atque contractis copiis cum Theudorico bellum init super fluvio Adda: sed ut rei desperatae magis adimi quam augeri vires solent, Odoachar terga vertens interfecto Pierio comite, qui bellicis rebus praeerat, Ravennam iterum aufugit. Post quem Theudoricus intra parvi temporis spacium Ravennam cum totius robore exercitus pervenit. Fossato et munitione late patente in Pineta exercitum vallavit.	**Fausto V. C. Cons.** [490].

Agnelli Liber Pontificalis.	Cassiodorus.	Marcellinus Comes.	Jordanes.	Ennodius.
			delevit castraque soluta finibus Italiae cum potiore audacia intrat,	
[Cum] juxta Strovilia Peucodis[1] non longe ab Urbe Ravenna applicitus Theodoricus fuisset cum hostibus suis in Campo qui vocatur Candiani, postquam duabus vicibus Odovacrem superavit, qui illo tempore Regnum Ravennae obtinebat. [1] ['Graecum nomen pro Pineta.' Holder-Egger in Annotatione.]	**Faustus Jun. Cos.** [490] Hoc cos. ad Ducam fluvium Odoacrem D. N. Theodericus rex tertio certamine superavit, qui Ravennam fugiens obsidetur inclusus.	**Longino II et Fausto Coss.**	transactoque Pado amne ad Ravennam regiam urbem castra componit tertio fere miliario ab urbe locus qui appellatur Pineta: quod	Sed instruxit rursus in deceptione sui mens vaga conflictum, dum apud Veronam tuam apparat locum belli etc. (174-5). Quid dissimulo gesta persequi? Libuit eos rursus tendenti inermem dextram Odovacri regna polliceri (176). Taceo ubi tibi injuncta est pax diuturna, Burgundio; quando sic foederibus obsecutus es ut deputetur quod vivis fe-

490.	Anon. Valesii.	Continuatio Prosperi, Cod. Havniensis seu Chronog. A.D. 641.	Chronicon Cuspiniani.
	factum est usque ad sex solidos modius tritici. Et mittens legationem Theodericus Faustum, caput senati, ad Zenonem imperatorem, et ab eodem sperans vestem se induere regiam.		
491. **Olybrius.** Death of Zeno, 9 April. Accession of Anastasius, 11 April. Battle of the Pineta (near Ravenna), 10 (or 15) July. Return of Theodoric to Ticinum, 18 (or 22) August.	**Olybrio V. C. Cons.** [491]. Hoc consule exiit Odoachar rex de Ravenna nocte, cum Herulis ingressus in Pineta, in fossatum patrici Theoderici, et ceciderunt ab utraque parte exercitus, et fugiens Levila magister militum Odoacris, occisus est in fluvio Bedente, et victus Odoachar fugit Ravennam idibus Juliis. Et moritur Constantinopolim Zeno imperator et factus est imperator Anastasius.	Quem cum securum intra fossatum sedere Odoachar conspiceret, clam noctu cum Erulis intra fossatum in Pineta erupit, ubi, cum diu pugnatum est et utriusque exercitus magnae copiae cecidissent, interfecto Libilane magistro militiae intra Ravennam sese rex Odoachar reclusit. Theudoricus collectis exercitibus nolens eum obpugnare, donec sese belli tempus aperiret Ticinum rediit xv. K. Septemb. Romanorum xlviii [imperator] regnavit Anastasius ann. xxvii.	[490, but a line is probably missing, as the name of the Consul for 491 is not given.] 'Eo anno ingressus est Odoacar Rex in fossatum Erulis in Pinita et occisus est Libila Mag. mil. et ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte. Et clausit se Ravenn. Odoacar rex vi. id. Jul. Et regressus est Rex Theodericus in Ticino xi. Kal. Sept.
492. **Anastasius and Rufus.** Earthquake, 26 May. Theodoric at Ariminum. He returns with swift ships (dromones) to Ravenna, 29 August. Ravenna more strictly blockaded. Defection of Frederic the Rugian. Quarrel between him and Tufa. Tufa slain in battle against Frederic.	[The Consuls and the events of this year are missing in the Anon. Valesii.]	**Anastasio pp. Cons. et Rufo.** [492] Ecclesiastical affairs, Vandal persecutions, blasphemy of Olimpius, etc.] **Albino V. C. Consule.** [493] Rex Theudoricus Ariminum est regressus, inusque profectus cum dromonis navigio venit ad fossatum Palatioli iiii. K. Sept. Eo anno pugna facta est inter Fridigerium et Tufanem magistros mili-	**Dn. Anastasio pp. Aug. et Rufo.** [492] His Cons. Terre motus factus est noctu ante pullorum cantus vii. Kal. Jun. **Albino V. C. Cons.** [493] His Cons. regressus est rex Theodoricus Arimini et venit cum dromonis ad fossatum Palatioli iiii. Kal. Sept. Eo anno pugna facta est inter Fridericum et Eufa-

Agnelli Liber Pontificalis.	Cassiodorus.	Marcellinus Comes.	Jordanes.	Ennodius.
				riatus, constantiae non pavori (177). Ultionis vexilla concutiens fecisti consiliorum participem in secretis populum jam probatum (176).
Tunc exiit Odovacer ad praedictum campum cum exercitu suo, et superatus est tertio, et ante faciem Theodorici terga dedit, et infra civitatem se clausit,	**Olybrius Jun. Cos.** [491] Hoc Cos. Odoacer cum Erulis egressus Ravenna nocturnis horis ad pontem Candidium a D. N. rege Theodorico memorabili certamine superatur * * * * * Eodem anno Zeno occubuit cui Anastasius in orientali successit imperio.	**Olybrio solo Cos.** Zeno Aug. vita decessit * * * Anastasius ex silentiario Imperator creatus est.	cernens Odoacer intus se in urbe communit; indeque subreptive noctu frequenter cum suis egrediens Gothorum exercitum inquietat	Quid Herulorum agmina fusa commemorem? Qui ideo adversus te deducti sunt, ut hic agnoscerent etiam in propriis sedibus quem timerent (176).
et abiit ad Ariminum et venit exinde cum dromonibus in Portu Lione, ubi postea palatium modicum aedificare jussit in Insula non longe a litore maris, ubi nunc Monasterium sanctae Mariae esse videtur infra balneum non longe ab Ravennae milliario vi. Et nunc in nostris temporibus praedictum palatium servos meos demolire jussi, et Raven-	**Anastasius Aug. et Rufus.**	**Anastasio Aug. et Rufo Coss.**		Dicat Fridericus, qui postquam fidem laesit, hostes tuos interitu comitatus est, etc. (276).

492.	Anon. Valesii.	Continuatio Prosperi, Cod. Havniensis seu Chronog. A.D. 641.	Chronicon Cuspiniani.
		tum inter Tredenum et Veronam, sed cum utriusque partis multa milia hominum caderent Tufa interfectus proelio finem dedit.	nem mag. mil. inter Tridentum et Beronam.
493. **Eusebius (II) and Albinus.** Treaty of peace between Theodoric and Odovacar, 26–27 Feb. Theodoric's entry into Ravenna, 5 Mar. Assassination of Odovacar 'a few days after.'	igitur coactus Odoachar dedit filium suum Thelane obsidem Theoderico, accepta fide, securum se esse de sanguine. Sic ingressus est Theodericus: et post aliquot dies, dum ei Odoachar insidiaretur, detectus ante ab eo praeventus, in palatio manu sua Theodericus eum in Lauretum praeveniente gladio interemit. Cujus exercitus in eadem die jussu Theoderici omnes interfecti sunt quivis ubi potuit reperiri, cum omni stirpe sua.	Odoachar pacem ab Theudorico postulans accepit, qua non diu potitus est, deditque obsidem filium suum. Theudoricus cum pacem cum Odoachar fecisset, ingressus est Classem iiii. K. Mart., ac deinde ingressus est Ravennam. Pacis specie Odoachrem interfecit cum collegas omnes, qui regni praesidio amministrabant.	Hoc Cons. facta est pax inter dn. Theodericum regem et Odoacrem iii. Kl. Martias et ingressus est dns Theodericus in Classem . . . . Mart. Hoc cons. ingressus est Ravennam Rex Theodericus III Non. Mart. et occisus est Odoacar Rex a Rege Theoderico in palatio cum commilitibus suis.

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	PROCOPIUS.
nam perduxi in aedificia domus meae, quam a fundamentis aedificavi jure materno, etc. Tamdiu exercitus Theodorici fame perdomuit, quamdiu coria, vel alia immunda et horrida urguebantur comedere, et multa corpora, quae servata sunt a gladio, fames peremit. Et factus est terrae motus magnus valde gallorum cantu septimo Kal. Januarii.			et hoc non semel neo iterum, sed frequenter et pene molitur toto triennio. Sed frustra laborat, quia cuncta Italia dominum jam dicebat Theodoricum et illius ad nutum	
Et dedit Odovacer Theodorico filium obsidem quinto Kal. et post quatuor [Kal.] Martii est civitate Classe ingressus. Post haec autem Vir Beatissimus Johannes Archiepiscopus aperuit Portas civitatis quas Odovacer clauserat, et exiit foras cum crucibus et thuribulis et Sanctis Evangeliis pacem petens cum Sacerdotibus et Clericis psallendo, in terram prostratus obtinuit quae petebat. Invitat novum Regem de Oriente venientem, et pax illi ab eo concessa est, non solum Ravennenses Cives, sed etiam omnibus Romanis, pro quibus Beatus postulavit Johannes. Et subiit Ravennam tertio Nonas Martias. Post paucos dies occidit Odovacrem Rex in palatio in Lauro cum comitibus suis. Postquam jubente Theodorico interfectus est Odovacer, solus et securus regnavit Romanorum more.	Albinus V. C. Cos. [493] Hoc Cos. D. N. rex Theodericus Ravennam ingressus, Odoacrem molientem sibi insidias interemit.	[Continuation of entry for 489.] Porro ab eodem Theodorico perjuriis illectus, interfectusque est [Odoacer].	res illa publica obsecundabat. Tantum ille solus cum paucis satellitibus et Romanos, qui aderant, et fame et bello cotidie intra Ravennam laborabat. Quod dum nihil proficeret, missa legatione veniam supplicat. Cui et primum concedens Theodericus postmodum ab hac luce privavit.	Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον ἔτος Γότθοις τε καὶ Θευδερίχῳ Ῥάβενναν πολιορκοῦσιν ἐτέτριπτο ἤδη, οἵ τε Γότθοι ἀχθόμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀδόακρον πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὑπὸ διαλλακτῇ τῷ Ῥαβέννης ἱερεῖ ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνιᾶσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θευδέριχός τε καὶ Ὀδόακρος ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ διαίτῃ ἕξουσι. Καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διεσώσαντο τὰ ξυγκείμενα, μετὰ δὲ Θευδέριχος Ὀδόακρον λαβών, ὥς φασιν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενον τρόπῳ τε δολερῷ ἐπὶ θοίνην καλέσας ἔκτεινε. (De Bello Gothico, i. 1.)

CHAPTER VII.

KING AND PEOPLE.

Authorities.

Sources:—

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TACITUS, 'The Germania.' JORDANES, 'De Rebus Geticis.'

Guides:—

Waitz, 'Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte,' vol. i. Dahn, 'Könige der Germanen' (Abtheilungen 1–4). Köpke, 'Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen.'

Now that Theodoric has safely brought his people into the promised land of Italy, has conquered and slain his enemy, and seated himself at Ravenna, undoubted king and ruler of the land, it may be well to pause for a little space, and, before we contemplate the new State which he founded there, to ask ourselves what was understood in the Gothic host by that word, kingship, in virtue of which he ruled them. We shall find indeed, as we proceed, that the spirit and maxims of the new kingdom, its form, and the machinery of its administration, were Roman rather than Gothic. Still, even in order to grasp this fact more clearly, it will be well to devote a few pages to a subject upon which volumes have been usefully written, that of *German Kingship*.

The King. 'God save the King!'—words how lightly spoken

by revellers at a banquet, or by shouting crowds as a monarch moves slowly through their midst! Yet in this familiar formula are enshrined two words of mysterious power, which have come down with the stream of national life, 'through caverns measureless to man,' from those distant highlands wherein the eye of science strains, and strains in vain, to discover the origins of the human race and of human society. To argue from the ancient origin of these two names of power that there is any necessary connection between them; to maintain, as the advocates of the divine right of kings once did, that religion forbids men to govern themselves under republican forms, however clear it may be that the State will best be so administered, is an absurdity of which few men will now be guilty. But, nevertheless, it is permitted us to gaze, with a wonder in which there is something of love and something of reverence, on this wonderful word, so different in form in the various languages of the earth,—Melech, Basileus, Rex, Thiudans, King,—yet so essentially the same in power, which constrains the many members of one vast community, her strong men, her wise men, her holy men, to bring the best of their gifts to the treasury, and to devote the strength of their lives to the service of one man, in mind and body no different from themselves, but—a King.

The Germanic nations essentially king-lovers.

Reverence for the kingly office seems to have been deeply implanted in the heart of the Germanic branch of the great Aryan family; and it has been, in the World-life, the especial function of the Germanic peoples to carry kingship and faithfulness to the king, or—to borrow two words from the Latin tongue—Royalty and Loyalty, farther down into the ages than

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any other group of free nations[1]. How early the old Homeric royalties of Greece and the kings of Rome disappeared from the scene we all know. On the other hand, the long-lived royalties of Assyria, of China and of Persia, were mere despotisms, giving no free play to the national character, and stiffening the peoples that were subjected to them with immobility. To reign on such terms, to be the master of millions of slaves, was comparatively an easy task, when once the nation had become used to the clank of its fetters. But to maintain for generations, to prolong into the strangely different world of modern society, that peculiar combination of kingly authority and popular freedom which was characteristic of most of the Germanic royalties in the first century after Christ, and which contained the seeds of the institution which we now call Constitutional Monarchy,—this has been a great and marvellous work, and one which could only be accomplished by a race with exceptional faculties for governing and being governed.

Tacitus on the limited

We have the authority of Tacitus, that acute observer of the life of states and nations, for asserting that

[1] As Waitz finely says: 'The word King is the expression for an Institution which has been most intimately connected with the constitutional history of the Germans, which has thereby maintained its hold on the life of the European peoples, while the beginnings of a similar development in the nations of classical antiquity were early stifled and never able to show their true importance for the life of the State' (Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, i. 326). Shelley's phrase, 'King-deluded Germany,' puts this thought from a republican point of view. Tennyson's words—

> 'The one true seed of freedom sown
> Betwixt a people and an ancient throne,'

contain the same idea, but expressed with some insular exclusiveness.

German kingship was, in his day, for the most part thus compounded of the two apparently antagonistic principles of Authority and Liberty. He contrasts the *libertas Germanorum* with the *regnum Arsacis*, when deciding that Rome has suffered more from the free barbarians beyond the Rhine than from the compact despotism of the monarchy beyond the Euphrates[1]. When describing the sway of the Gothic kings, he says that, 'though somewhat stricter than that of most other German rulers, it still stretched not to the infringement of liberty[2].' Only one race, the Suiones[3], who dwelt in the islands of the Baltic and on the Swedish promontories, were 'under the absolute rule of one man, to whom they were bound to pay implicit obedience[4].' The great power attained in this tribe by even the slaves of royalty, the fact that the nation could not be trusted with the custody of its own arms, which were kept, in time of peace, in a locked-up arsenal guarded by a slave, were emphatic proofs of the absence of the popular element in the government of this nation, and strengthened by contrast the general picture of German freedom.

Character of German kingship, with a very few exceptions.

It is, however, from Tacitus also that we receive our impressions of the extraordinary manifoldness of political life amongst the German nations. In its

Great variety of political institutions

[1] 'Quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas' (Germ. 37).

[2] 'Gothones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam caeterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem' (Germ. 44).

[3] Together with their neighbours the Sitones, who were yet more enslaved, inasmuch as their despot was a queen.

[4] 'Eoque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi' (Germ. 44: compare 25).

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among the early Germans.

way, his sketch of Germania in the first century reminds us of the mediæval *Reich*, with its wonderful assortment of kingdoms, duchies, ecclesiastical states, republican free towns, all congregated together, like the clean and unclean beasts in the ark, under the rule, often only the nominal rule, of some Hapsburg or Luxemburg emperor. Of course, in the Germania, even this semblance of unity is wanting; but the variety of political life is there. Observing the language of Tacitus with attention, we soon discover from his pages that the kingly form of government was not universal among the Germans. *Rex vel princeps, rex vel civitas,* are alternative expressions, frequently used by him. The mere fact that the chief ruler of a barbarian state is not always called by the same name by the historians of a civilised country, who have occasion to mention his existence, is not one upon which it would be safe to lay much stress. We must be conscious that we talk with great looseness of Indian chiefs, of Zulu kings, and so forth, and that we have no very clear idea of a difference in rank and power between Cetewayo and the father of Pocahontas, when we speak of the former as a king and of the latter as a chief. Something of the same vagueness may be observed in the Roman writers, taken as a class, from Caesar to Ammianus, when they speak of the leaders of the Teutonic tribes who warred on Rome. But with Tacitus the case is different. His eye was quick for all political facts. His mind was always revolving the advantages and disadvantages of different forms of government. Even when describing the wild freedom of Germany, he is half-thinking about Rome and her vanished liberties; when face to face with

Parthia, he is comforted by the thought that at least he is not under the lawless despotism of an Eastern king.

The 'Republican' States of ancient Germany.

Every word therefore of Tacitus respecting the political institutions of our Teutonic forefathers is precious; and these hints of his about the *Rex* or the *Civitas* show us that there were German tribes not under the sway, however lenient, of one sole king. Some modern writers speak of these tribes as Republican, and the expression, though not used by Tacitus himself, brings before us more vividly than any other the nature of the rule under which the Cherusci [1], the Batavi, and many other German tribes, were living at the Christian era. In time of war these republican tribes elected a leader (*Heritogo*, in modern German *Herzog*, translated in Latin by *Dux*, in English by *Duke*), who was necessarily a man of tried bravery [2]. In peace they may have been presided over by some officer, also elective, who acted as supreme judge, and as president of their assemblies; but even the name of this president has perished [3]. In any case, however, the distinguishing mark of these magistracies was their *non-hereditary* character. The general or the judge was chosen for some special emergency; perhaps in some cases he held his office for the term of his natural life: but he held it only by the free choice of his countrymen, and had no claim to transmit any power to his son [4].

[1] Waitz's view seems to me here more in accordance with the spirit of Tacitus' narrative than Dahn's.

[2] 'Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.'

[3] Our early English *ealdorman* is as likely a name as any, but there seems no evidence of its wide extension.

[4] It seems that the 'republican tribes' were chiefly in the west of Germany and the monarchical tribes in the east. Perhaps

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Kingship essentially hereditary.

In the royal tribes, on the other hand, the birth of the supreme ruler was everything[1]. Doubtless the king was rich, doubtless he must be personally brave (or else his warriors would soon find a fitter leader), doubtless he had a large following of devoted henchmen; but none of these things alone would qualify him to be chosen king. He must be sprung from some kingly family—the Amals, or the Balthae, or the Asdings, or the Merovings—who had been kings (or at any rate nobles) 'from a time to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary;' some family which, while the nation was still heathen, boasted that it was sprung from the seed of gods, and which still linked itself with the remembrance of the heroes of old, even after the missionary-priest had dispeopled Walhalla and sent Odin and Gaut to dwell for ever beside Jupiter and Venus in the penal lake of fire.

But no strict order of succession.

Yet, being born of the kingly family, it was by no means needful that he should be what we call 'the head of the house' by lineal descent. It is hardly necessary to say, to those who know anything of the history even of mediaeval monarchy, that the strict principles of primogeniture and representation, which would make the crown descend in a line as definitely fixed as the course of succession to an English estate settled 'in tail male,' were quite unknown to the

we may infer that the nations which pushed forth first moved furthest from the central Aryan home, lost their kingship the soonest, just as monarchical institutions have struck a deeper root in England than in her colonies. But, on the other hand, when the migrations were resumed (no doubt under circumstances of greater danger and difficulty) in the centuries after Christ, we shall see that they distinctly tended *in favour of kingship.*

[1] 'Reges ex nobilitate sumunt.'

Germanic nations. Of course a veteran Gothic warrior-king, gathered to his fathers in a good old age, and leaving a warlike eldest son in the vigour of his years, would generally be succeeded by that son. That is the natural course of things, and in all such cases monarchy and primogeniture easily become entwined together. Still, even in these instances, the nation chose, the nation raised the first-born on the shield, and acclaimed him as king. And if the dead king's children were minors, or if the eldest son was a *nithing*, incapable in council or a coward in the field, if there was some national hero standing near to the throne, and overshadowing by his fame the relatives who came before him in the strict order of descent, in all such cases the elective element in Germanic kingship asserted itself, and, by no fraud upon the postponed claimants, by no usurpation of the preferred claimant, the worthiest, kingliest, wisest, Amal or Balth, was called to the throne.

Good and evil of the system.

No doubt this manner of bestowing the crown—inheritance tempered by election—had its dangers, leading, as it did easily, to the wars and heartburnings of a disputed succession. It may very probably have been a presentiment of these dangers which led Gaiseric to promulgate a law of succession for the Vandals, according to which the oldest of his descendants at each vacancy, in whatever line of descent, was to be called to the empty throne; a provision, however, which did not work well in practice nor avert the dreaded danger. But in the main, for communities such as were the German tribes, living in the midst of foes, and in need, before all things, of strong and wise leadership, we may believe that the

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principle of choice out of one particular family worked well, and tended, by 'the survival of the fittest,' to bring about an improvement in the strain of royal blood, and to make the kings more and more fit by stature, strength, and capacity of brain, to stand forth as unquestioned leaders of men.

The Nobles.

Around the king's person, parting him off in some degree from the great mass of the free but undistinguished warriors of the nation, but also constantly checking and curbing his power, and compelling him 'so to rule as not to transgress the bounds of liberty,' stood the nobles. Who can say whence they sprang? For they too, like the king, have an old-world origin, and if a warrior is noble, it is because the oldest man in the host cannot remember a tradition of the days when the ancestors of that warrior were anything else but noble. Partly, perhaps, they are descended from younger branches of the kingly house: partly they represent the vanished royalty of smaller tribes, whom the great nation, as it rolled onwards, has incorporated with itself: partly, it may be, here or there, they are the descendants of some great chief of a pre-existing people, Finnish or Basque or Celtic, whom the invading Teutons have found it easier to win over and to assimilate than to destroy. But in any case, whatever its origin, the important thing to notice about this old Teutonic nobility is, that it is essentially a counterpoise to the kingly power.

Nobility by birth. Nobility by service.

In after-days, when the new Teutonic kingdoms are reared 'in Welshland,' a new nobility will arise, the so-called 'nobility by service,' represented by the 'king's thegns' among our own ancestors. These men, the king's butlers and seneschals and chamberlains, will shine by the bor-

rowed light of their master, and naturally for a time will do nothing to check and everything to magnify his power. While they and the obsequious ecclesiastics who stand with them round the new-raised throne are hymning the praises of Our Lord Clovis or Chlotachar, the old nobility, which used to remind him, sometimes with a certain roughness, that he was only the first among his equals, will have had its ranks thinned by the wars and the migrations, will find itself in the midst of a new and hostile order of things, unpopular with the Roman provincials, anathematised by the clergy, vexed by the exactions of the king's officers, and continually postponed to the new and pliable 'service-nobles' of the Court, and thus, silently and sullenly, will vanish away.

The *Comitatus*,

A conspicuous feature in the social life of the ancient Germans, and one which probably aided the development of kingly power (though assuredly it was not the origin of that power), was the institution which the Latins called *comitatus*, and which the Germans now speak of as *Gefolgschaft*. We have no name exactly corresponding to it, but our historians are endeavouring to introduce the term *Comrades* to describe the members of a Comitatus[1]. The description of such a band given by Tacitus remains the most accurate and the most vivid picture that we possess of it.

as described by Tacitus.

'When the young nobles have received their arms and are enrolled in the ranks of the warriors, they take their places by the side of the hardy veterans, nor do they blush to be seen among the "comrades[2]." Each receives his rank in the "comradeship" according

[1] See Stubbs' Const. Hist. i. 27; Green's Making of England, 173; and cp. Freeman, Comp. Politics, 257–263.

[2] Comites.

to the judgment of him whom they follow, and great is the rivalry among the comrades which shall attain to the highest place beside his chief, and of the chiefs which shall have the most numerous and the most eager comrades. This is their dignity, this their strength: to be ever surrounded by a great cluster of picked youths is in peace a distinction and in war a defence. Nor is this so in a chief's own tribe only, but among neighbouring states also; his name and his glory are spread abroad if his comradeship excel in numbers and valour. Such chiefs are in request for embassies, are loaded with presents: by their mere renown they often virtually end a war. When the day of battle is come, it is disgraceful for the chief to be excelled in bravery by the comrades, disgraceful for them not to equal the chief's valour. Yea, and base for all the rest of his life is he accounted by himself and others who has escaped alive from the battle, leaving his chief behind him. Him to guard, him to defend, in his glory to merge every brave deed of his own, this is the one great point of honour[1] with the comrade. The chiefs fight for victory, the comrades for their chief. If the community in which they were born grows sluggish with too long peace and restfulness, most of the young nobles seek of their own accord those nations which may then be waging war elsewhere, both because this race hates rest, and because renown is more easily won on well-balanced battlefields; nor can a great comradeship be well kept together except by violence and war. Each comrade claims from the chief's generosity that great war-horse of his, that gory and conquering spear. For the rest,

[1] 'Praecipuum sacramentum.'

the seat at the banquet, the bountiful though coarse repast, are taken as sufficient pay. The material for the chief's generosity is provided by war and rapine. You would find it harder to persuade them to till the ground and wait a year for the harvest, than to challenge a foe and earn honourable wounds. For it seems ever to them a dull and stupid thing to accumulate, by the sweat of your brow, that which you might make your own by the shedding of blood.'

Influence of the Comitatus on national life.

This passage has given rise to many dissertations which are not perhaps the most fruitful part of German archaeology. Who might become the head of a *comitatus*[1], what precise relation existed between the 'comrades' and their chief, what states were founded by the leaders of a *comitatus*, and other questions of the like nature, have been discussed with much ability and some bitterness, but seem after all to resolve themselves only into the setting of one man's guess against another's. More important is it to keep the poetical aspect of this Germanic institution vividly before us. All admit that it has in it the promise of chivalry, the germs of the feudal relation between lord and vassal. We have already had occasion, in tracing the achievements of the young Theodoric, to see how vigorous was the institution in his day, four centuries after it had been described by Tacitus. It had undoubtedly a considerable influence in developing the idea and the power of royalty among the German races. Probably also the life of adventure and hardship which it promoted, favoured

[1] Dahn thinks every free man had this privilege. Waitz strongly urges that only a king or chief (in a republican state) might claim it.

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the growth of great qualities of mind and body among the royal families from whom some of the rulers of mediaeval, and a few of the rulers of modern Europe have descended. For to what depths of degradation they might sink when the stimulating influence of the *comitatus* was withdrawn, and the barbarian king could wallow undisturbed in the swinish delights of his barbarian royalty, is abundantly shown by the dreary story of the sons of the Merovings.

Simple free men.

Around the king and his 'comrades,' and around the outer circle of the nobles, gathered the great mass of the nation, the free but not noble warriors, who were known as 'free Franks' in the army of Clovis, and as *ceorls* on the soil of England. Of the social life of these men, of their days passed in alternations of fierce excitement and sturdy idleness, of their carousings and their mad devotion to the dice-box, Tacitus draws for us a striking and well-known picture. Our present business is to follow them to what our fathers called the *Folc-mote*, other tribes the *Folks-Thing* or the *Mall*, and Tacitus the *Concilium*, the assembly from which in direct lineal succession our own Parliament is descended. So long as the tribe is contained in narrow limits, each new and full moon sees the assembly of the tribesmen. As it grows into a wide-spreading nation, the times of meeting are necessarily reduced, till, in the vast Frankish Empire, they occur only twice or thrice in the year. The men come armed, and the mere fact of being free and a warrior is enough to give a right to attend the Folc-mote, though, for full voice and vote, it is necessary that a man should also have land—which means a home—of his own. Among all these armed men the

The public meeting.

Things-fried, the peace of the great meeting, prevails; and however hot the discussion may be, none may dare to lift a hand against his opponent in debate. They do not assemble punctually,—'this,' says Tacitus, 'is the fault of their German freedom,'—but often waste two or three days in waiting for those who come not on the appointed day. Then, at length, when it pleases the multitude to begin, they sit down, all arrayed in their armour. The priests, inconspicuous generally in the German polity, but prominent on these occasions,—perhaps in order to guard the *Things-fried* by religious reverence,—call for silence, and the clash of the barbarians' talk and song ceases. The king, if there be king, if not, the head of the state, begins the debate. The warriors follow in no exact order of precedence. Age, noble birth, mighty deeds in war, the gift of eloquence, all give a speaker the right to be heard: but none, not even the king, orders; all must seek to persuade. If the speaker's advice displeases, he is interrupted by the indignant clamour of his hearers; if it meets their approval, they brandish their mighty spears and so give to the barbarian orator his most coveted applause.

Business transacted there.

And what is the business thus debated of? Many matters doubtless, belonging to the peaceful life of the tribe, which Tacitus has not described to us. He mentions the accusation, or, as we should call it, the impeachment, of great offenders, upon whom the punishment of death may be inflicted. This man, who was a traitor to the tribe, is hung from a tree; that one, who was only a Nithing and a coward, is plunged into a morass with a hurdle over him to prevent his struggling out of it; another, who is found guilty

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of some lighter offence, is fined so many horses or oxen.

The judicial work of the assembly at an end, its administrative work begins. They elect the chiefs who are to dispense justice and keep some kind of barbarian order in each shire or village[1]. Then, no doubt, there are often questions of boundary to settle, some rudimentary works of civilisation to be talked over, the clearance of this forest, the dyking out of that encroaching stream. But after all, the debates of these warriors turned most naturally towards war. Over and over again, in these German *Folc-motes*, was the question raised, 'When and how and where must we make a stand against this all-pervading tyranny of Rome? Shall we make war on such and such a subject-tribe and punish them for their submission to the common enemy? Or shall we strike boldly at the great enemy himself? Shall we swim the Rhine, shall we swarm over the easily crossed *Pfahlgraben*, and win great spoil in the rich cities beyond?'

Slaves and serfs.

To complete the picture of the social state of the German tribes we should need to inquire into the condition of the slaves, and of the men, if there were such, who occupied a position akin to that of the Roman *colonus*, bound to till the land of a lord and to make him certain payments out of the produce, and yet not entirely dependent on his caprices. That there were slaves following in the train of these stalwart barbarians there can be no doubt: nay, we

[1] 'Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt' (Tac. Germ. 12). Though Shire is not scientifically accurate as a translation of Pagus (= Gau), no English word seems to express it better. (Compare Freeman, English Towns, &c., 'The Shire and the Gá.')

are informed by Tacitus that even a German warrior, in his overmastering passion for play, would sometimes sell himself, and doubtless his wife and children also, into slavery. So far therefore, the grand outline of popular freedom exhibited to us by the German folc-mote, at which every warrior has a right to be present, requires some modification. Like the free commonwealths of Greece and Rome, the German state does rest, to some extent, on a basis of slavery. It is clear, however, that slavery was not, as in some of those commonwealths, the corner-stone of the fabric. The most careful inquirers are of opinion that slavery, or serfdom, constrained the movements of but a small part of the population of ancient Germany[1]: and it is noteworthy that when Tacitus speaks of the idle life, during peace, of the German warrior, he says that household cares and the tillage of the fields were left [not to the slaves but] to the women, the old men, and the less robust members of the family.

Limitations of the royal power.

To go back to our main subject, the power of the kings in that Germany which Tacitus described: it is manifest that it was subject to some strong controlling forces. A body of nobles, nearly as proud of their birth as the king himself, watched his movements and jealously resented every word or gesture which would

[1] It is possible that this conclusion may have to be modified, if my friend Mr. Seebohm should establish his contention on behalf of the general prevalence of a servile tenure of land. But in his view the influence of the Roman system of *coloni* and the Roman *villa* counted for much in bringing about this state of things, which was not therefore purely Germanic; and, besides, his inquiries relate chiefly to a period beginning with the fifth century after Christ, whereas I am for the moment dealing with the first.

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seem to imply that he was a master and they his slaves. The frequently held popular assemblies, even if attended, as was probably the case in quiet times, by but a small part of the nation, kept alive the tradition of the rights of the people. It was a very different thing to dictate an unpopular order, as the Caesar of Rome might do, in the privacy of his *secretarium*, leaving the odium of its execution to the officer who sped with it to some distant province; and to have to defend that order oneself, as must the leader of the free warriors of Germany, in the next assembly of the people, to see the spears brandished in menace rather than in applause, to hear the harsh murmur of martial voices uttering in no courtly tones their disapprobation of the deed.

Changes in the four hundred years between Tacitus and Theodoric.

So far we have been dealing with the political life of our Teutonic forefathers at the time when Tacitus wrote. From that date till Theodoric's establishment of his Italian kingdom four centuries had passed; an interval of time which may count for comparatively little in a changeless Oriental monarchy, but which counts for much in European states, when the busy brain of an Aryan people is kindled by some new and great idea, or is brought forcibly into contact with other civilisations than its own. Four centuries before the date at which these words are being written, the Canary Islands were believed to be the uttermost limit of the habitable world in the direction of the setting sun. All the myriad influences which America has exerted upon Europe—to say nothing of those which Europe has exerted upon America—Peruvian gold, voyages of the Buccaneers, Negro-slavery, the Rights of Man—have had but those four hundred years to work in.

Roman influence ever at work. 81 to 491.

During the four centuries which we are now specially considering, from Domitian to Zeno, the heart and mind of Germany were ever in contact with the wonderful fascination of the world-Empire of Rome. First, for two or three generations, they had to fight the almost desperate battle of defence against Roman aggression. Then, when Quadi and Marcomanni, by their stubborn resistance to the noble Marcus, had renewed the old teaching of Arminius, and shown the barbarians that Rome was not invincible; still more when, in the miserable anarchy of the third century, Rome herself seemed to have lost the power of self-preservation, and to be falling from ledge to ledge down the precipice of ruin, the Germans began to entertain the idea of something more than self-defence, and with ever-increasing pertinacity to renew the attempt to carve out for themselves settlements (not necessarily independent settlements) in the fair 'Welshland' on the other side of Rhine and Danube. 165–181.

The migrations strengthened kingship.

All these wars, all this stir and movement among the peoples, tended to increase the power of the kingship. A weapon which was to pierce the Empire's defensive armour of castles and legions needed to be sharpened to a point and tipped with steel; and that steel point was royalty. Moreover, in the very act of the migration, many old associations would be loosened, the kinships which had dwelt in the same secluded valley for generations, and which mistook

> 'the rustic murmur of their bourg
> For the great wave that echoes round the world,'

would be shaken out of their boorish conservatism, which, with all its dulness, nevertheless had been

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a certain bulwark against royal encroachments. Above all, the members of the old nobility, conspicuous for their deeds of headlong valour, would, many of them, leave their bones to whiten on the Roman battle-field, and more and more, as they fell in war, would their places be filled up by the young and dashing 'comrades' of the king, men perhaps of noble birth themselves, but magnifying the office of their chief, and prouder of their loyal service to him round whose standard they gathered than of their own descent from the gods of Walhalla.

Instances already met with.

Let the reader apply these general principles to some of those incidents in the Germanic migration which have been already recorded; let him think of Fridigern, of Athanaric, of Eriulph, the chiefs of the Visigoths, of Hermanric the mighty and wide-ruling king of the Ostrogoths: then let him remember how Alaric's elevation on the shield and the acclamation of his name as king gave at once a point and a purpose to the previously desultory warfare of the Goths, and led, by no obscure connection of causes and effects, to the occupation of the Eternal city itself by the forces of the barbarians. One instance of a Folc-mote, at least of a council of war, which might possibly bear that character, we noticed in the pages of Claudian [1]. It was that held before the battle of Pollentia, in which the poet represents an old chief as pleading for peace and harshly silenced by the vengeful voice of Alaric. We do not need the doubtful authority of the poet to assure us that, if assemblies of the people were held during these marchings and counter-marchings on the soil of Italy, this would generally be

Alaric and the old Gothic chief at Pollentia.

[1] See vol. i. p. 718.

the result. All military instinct would be in favour of obeying rather than arguing with the young and brilliant leader of the Goths; and the necessities of the 'war power,' which made a temporary autocrat of so constitutional a ruler as President Lincoln, might well make Alaric the Balth the unquestioned disposer of the lives and fortunes of his people.

The Hunnish dominion.

The vassalage into which so many German kings were forced under the yoke of Attila the Hun probably tended towards the effacement of popular freedom. Before Attila, Ardaric and Walamir might tremble, but to their subjects they would be terrible, as representing not only their own power, but all the consolidated might of that heterogeneous monarchy.

The Vandal kings.

As for the polity of the Vandals, we saw, in tracing the history of the conquest and land-settlement of Africa, how vast a preponderating influence was thereby assigned to the king. It is true that, by careful examination, some traces of the old Teutonic freedom may still be discovered among the warriors of Gaiseric[1], but they are indeed rare and feeble. Peace and war, treaties, persecutions, all seem to be decided upon and carried through by the overwhelming authority of the king.

The Ostrogothic royalty.

And thus we come to the subject with which we are now specially concerned, the kind and degree of kingly authority wielded by the Amal Theodoric. It must be stated at once that this was absolutely unlike the limited and jealously-watched authority of the German kings described by Tacitus. After the Ostrogoths crept forth from under the world-shadowing might of Attila, they fell into a position of more or

[1] They are enumerated by Dahn (Kön. der Germ. i. 224–227).

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less dependence upon the power of Eastern Rome; a power materially far less formidable than that of the terrible Hun, but more potent in its influence on the minds and thoughts of men. It is impossible to prove what effect the forty years between the death of Attila and the death of Odovacar had upon the 'Walamir-Goths;' but it is almost certain that many old German ideas and customs were lost during that time of close intercourse and frequently-renewed alliance with Byzantium[1]. For the fact that they did not become altogether Romanised and sink into the position of a mere military colony of the Empire, their old hereditary loyalty to the Amal kings was mainly answerable. The reader will remember in what insulting terms Theodoric the son of Triarius taunted the squalid retinue of his rival for their fall from their once high and prosperous estate. He was correct in saying that it was their loyalty to Theodoric the Amal that had brought them into that abyss of wretchedness. But the instinct of the nation was right. Theodoric was indeed the people's hope, and their loyalty to him brought them safely through so many dangers and trials and seated them at length as lords in the fairest lands of Italy.

Theodoric in Italy not a king of the limited German type.

But when the great enterprise was thus at length crowned with success, the author of it was no longer a king after the old Germanic pattern, bound to consult and persuade his people at every turn. As

[1] I venture to doubt whether Dahn, in his extremely careful analysis of the German and Roman elements in the state-system of Theodoric, has made quite sufficient allowance for the *Byzantinisation* of the Goths themselves during these forty years of close contact with the Empire.

an uncontrolled, unthwarted ruler he had led them from Novae to Ravenna. As an uncontrolled, unthwarted ruler he was thenceforward to guide the destinies of the nation in his palace by the Hadriatic. BOOK IV. CH. 7.

There is no trace of anything like a single meeting of the *Folc-mote* during the reign of Theodoric. All action in the State seems to proceed from the king alone, and though he condescends often to explain the reason for his edicts, he does this only as a matter of grace and favour, not of necessity, and in doing so he employs the same kind of language which is used in the Theodosian code. There is, as we shall see, at his death a faint acknowledgment of the right of the people to be consulted as to his successor; but here again there is no more recognition of the elective character of the monarchy, if so much, as in the case of the successive wearers of the purple at Byzantium. In short, though Theodoric never assumed the title of emperor, his power, for all practical purposes, seems to have been exactly the same as an emperor's; and we get a much more truthful idea of his position by thinking of him as the successor of Theodosius and the predecessor of Charles the Great, than by applying to him any of the characteristics of Teutonic royalty which we find in the Germania of Tacitus. No Folc-mote.

But though the kingship of Theodoric was thus greatly changed from the old model of his forefathers' royalty, there is one case of an early German ruler, described to us by Tacitus himself, whose career is in some respects very similar to that of the Amal hero. Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, a very few years after the birth of Christ led his people across the Erzgebirge, and established a strong kingdom in Parallel between Theodoric and Maroboduus. A.D. 3-19.

BOOK IV. CH. 7. Bohemia and Bavaria and on the Middle Danube. A disciplined army of 70,000 men, hovering upon a frontier only 200 miles from Italy, caused even the great Augustus to tremble for the peace of his Transalpine provinces. No German had ever seemed more formidable to Rome, but he was formidable only because he was despotic. It is evident that in his kingship the rein was drawn far tighter than was usual in the Germanic states of that day, and this harsher system of government, though it made him for the time a more dangerous foe to Rome, prevented his dynasty from striking root in the affections of his people. When Arminius attacked him after about
A.D. 17. twenty years of rule, 'the name of king,' that is, of despotic king, 'alienated the sympathy of his own countrymen from Maroboduus, while the cause of Arminius was popular, as he was fighting for liberty[1].' By this war Maroboduus was greatly weakened, and had to sue for the degrading help of Rome to avert
A.D. 19. absolute overthrow. Only two years later the Gothic chieftain Catualda, who had once been driven from his country by the might of Maroboduus, ventured on an expedition of revenge, which, by the help of the disloyal nobles of the Marcomannic kingdom, was completely successful; and forced Maroboduus, a hunted exile and outlaw, to seek the protection of Tiberius, who received this disarmed enemy of the Roman people into his territory, and permitted him to spend the eighteen remaining years of his life in the friendly shelter of Ravenna. Strange vicissitude of fortune,

[1] 'Sed Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat' (Tac. Ann. ii. 44).

which caused the first great absolute monarch of a German nation to grow old, amid the contempt of his people, in the very same capital which witnessed the splendid reign and honoured death of the greatest of German despots, Theodoric[1].

Theodoric's rule must have jarred on German feelings.

Happily the reign of the Amal king ended in no such disastrous collision with the free spirit of his people as that which brought the might of Maroboduus to the ground. Yet, if there were any traditions of a healthy national life still lingering among the warriors whom he had settled in Italy, these must have been continually wounded by what they saw and what they heard at the Court of Ravenna. True, they still were summoned to appear, at any rate those who lived in the north of Italy, once a year in the presence of their King, and to receive a donative from his hand[2]. They were not turned into Roman legionaries; they fought still in the old national order, with the great Gothic broadsword and under the command of their own captains of thousands[3]. But when they stood in the presence of their countryman, the great Amal, they found him surrounded with all the pomp of Byzantine royalty. The diadem which the Western Emperors had worn was upon his head; silken robes, dyed with the purple of the *murex*, flowed over his shoulders; *silentiarii* in bright armour kept guard before the curtain

[1] Dahn's use of the early absolutism of Maroboduus to illustrate the despotic tendencies of Theodoric and other kings of the *Völkerwanderung*, seems to me one of the best things in the *Könige der Germanen*.

[2] This seems to be a fair inference from Variarum v. 26.

[3] From the *Millenarii* of Cassiodorus (Var. v. 26) we may fairly infer the continued existence of the *thusundifaths* of Ulfilas.

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which separated the awful *secretum* of the sovereign from the profane crowd of suitors and suppliants; the Prefect of the Sacred Bedchamber, some Roman courtier intent on currying favour with his new lord by an exaggerated display of servile devotion, stood ready to stop on the threshold any of his old 'comrades,' of however noble blood, who would venture unbidden into the presence of the King.

The donative and the ration-money were given[1] and were welcome to the spendthrift Goth, who had perhaps already diced away his lands to some fellow-soldier after they had sung together the old Gothic songs and drunk too deeply of the new delights of the wine of Italy. But before receiving the money, the old and grizzled warrior had perhaps to listen to some eloquent harangue from the lips of the fluent Roman quaestor, Cassiodorus, about the delights of being admitted to the royal presence and the living death which those endured who beheld not the light of his countenance—a harangue which almost made the donative loathsome, and which, if anything could have done so, would have quenched his loyal enthusiasm, when at last the veil was drawn asunder and the well-known form, conspicuous in so many battle-fields from the Bosporus to the Ticino, moved forth to receive their acclamations.

Scanty information as to the

The picture here drawn of Gothic dissatisfaction at the exaltation of the royal prerogative is chiefly,

[1] *Donativum* and *Annonae*. When Dahn (Kön. der Germ. iii. 66–82) has carefully traced the times and manner in which these two kinds of payment were made to the Gothic soldiers, he leaves, it seems to me, little real distinction between their remuneration and that given to the ordinary paid soldiers of the imperial army.

a conjectural one, but the fact is that almost all our information as to the feelings of the Gothic element in Theodoric's new state has to be derived from a few faint and widely-scattered hints, combined and vivified by the historical imagination. The information which reaches us as to the manner of the kingdom—and it is abundant—comes all from the Roman side. The rhetorical Cassiodorus, the courtly Ennodius, the dispirited Boethius, are all Romans. Even the Goth Jordanes is more than half-Roman at heart, and derives all his materials from Cassiodorus. We are therefore really without a picture of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy from the true Ostrogothic point of view. Only, in reading the phrases in which these rhetoricians and churchmen magnify the might of their master, we are sure that they must have grated on the ears of all that was self-respecting and genuinely Teutonic in the countrymen of Theodoric.

Inner life of the Goths.

Theodoric's own probable attitude towards his ministers.

To a certain extent we, who have imbibed from our childhood the idea that kingship is never so great a blessing to the world as when it is rigorously—almost jealously—controlled by the national will, can share the feelings of disgust with which our imaginary Gothic warrior listened to the fulsome flatteries of his Roman fellow-subjects. It is difficult for the most loyal admirer of Theodoric not to turn away with something more than weariness from the volume of state correspondence in which, for page after page, the great King, by the pen of his secretary, praises his own virtue, his own wisdom, his own moderation, his own love of equal justice for Goth and Roman. Partly we become reconciled to this apparent want of modesty

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by remembering that, though the King is supposed to speak, it is well understood that the clever Quaestor really speaks for him. All the world knew that in these letters it listened, not to Theodoric praising himself, but to Cassiodorus praising Theodoric. The will of the King is undoubtedly expressed in these letters, and we may be sure that his share in them was by no means limited to a mere formal assent, or the languid addition of his stencilled signature at the bottom. Yet when Theodoric knew that the substance of the royal will was therein contained, he probably gave himself little trouble about the form. For that, the learned Quaestor was responsible. A brave Gothic warrior would have blushed to enumerate his own good qualities with so many swelling words of vanity. But if this was the custom of the country, it must be complied with; and probably the King saw his short, business-like, verbal instructions expanded into the turgid state document, with similar feelings to those with which an Englishman receives from his lawyer the great expanse of sheepskin covered with legal verbiage, that is required to give validity to a purchase which was settled in an interview of an hour.

The noble aim which he kept in view.

After all, the great justification for the somewhat despotic form assumed by the government of Theodoric must be found in the object which he proposed to himself, and which, with signal success, he achieved. What was that object? It was in one word, *Civilitas*; the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and the safeguarding of all classes of his subjects from oppression and violence at the hands either of lawless men or of the ministers of the law. The golden words of

Ataulfus, as recorded by Orosius[1], seem to have expressed exactly the aim which Theodoric kept constantly before him. Not to obliterate the Roman name, not to turn *Romania* into *Gothia*, but to correct the inherent lawlessness of the Gothic character by the restraint of those laws without which the state would cease to be a state, to restore the Roman name to its old lustre and increase its potency by Gothic vigour; this was the dream which floated before the mind of Ataulfus, this was the dream which became a reality for forty years under Theodoric and his descendants.

Absolute fusion of the two peoples not attempted.

The state papers of the Ostrogothic monarchy, as will be seen by any one who glances through the abstract of the letters of Cassiodorus, are filled almost to satiety with the praises of this great gift, *Civilitas*. It was attained, however, not by the fusion, but rather by the federation, of the two peoples, over both of whom Theodoric was king. Whatever may have been his hope as to the ultimate effect of his measures, and probably the vision of a united Italian people did sometimes fascinate the mind of the King, or at any rate of his ablest minister, they well knew that at present the absolute assimilation of the two nations was impossible. The Goth could not be taught in one generation that reverence for the name of Law, that disposition to submit to authority, however harshly displayed, which had become an instinct with the Roman people. The Roman could not in one generation become imbued with that free heroic spirit, that love of danger and of adventure, which rang in every Gothic battle-song. This had perhaps never

[1] vii. 43. See vol. i. p. 822.

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been precisely the endowment even of his forefathers, for even the Fabricii and the Valerii were inspired to do great deeds rather by a lofty sense of duty, self-respect, loyalty to their comrades and their country, than by the mere animal delight in fighting which fired the sons of Odin. And whatever the Roman's prowess had once been, it had now utterly left him, and generations of intermixture with a new stock were needed to bring back the iron into his blood.

A strong and just rule needed.

Meantime, then, the two nations were to be governed with a strong and impartial hand, not as one people, but for one end, the happiness of all. The Gothic sword was to preserve the soil of Italy from foreign foes, while the Roman practised the arts of peace and administered the laws which had come down from his forefathers[1]. The situation was like that which existed in Normandy under William Longsword, like that which his descendant William the Bastard strove to establish in England after the Conquest; striving unsuccessfully because his English subjects, at any rate after the revolt of 1068, refused to give him that willing obedience which undoubtedly was rendered during the larger part of his reign by the Roman population to Theodoric[2]. Or, to choose an illustration

Similar cases:

William the Conqueror.

[1] Various passages are quoted by Dahn (Kön. der Germ. iii. 58) from the Variae to illustrate this proposition. Perhaps the most striking is to be found in vii. 3 (translated at length in my Abstract of the Variae). But none of his quotations convince me that a Roman desirous to serve would have been absolutely *excluded* from the army, which seems to be Dahn's view. And in fact the case of Cyprian (Var. viii. 21), undoubtedly a Roman, yet serving himself and sending his sons to serve in the army, is fatal to the theory as thus stated. But no doubt such cases were excessively rare.

[2] Compare Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest, i. 191,

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British rule in India.

from our own times, the relation of the Ostrogothic King to the two classes of his subjects was like that of an enlightened and conscientious Governor-General of India to the Europeans and Hindoos under his sway. Fusion of the two nations is at present an impossibility. It is impossible to legislate for the European indigo-planter exactly as if he were a native Rajah, or for the headman of a Hindoo village as if he had the same ideas as a Queen's soldier from Devonshire. The best rulers keep the fusion of the two nations before them as an event possible in the far-distant future, and meanwhile strive so to govern that the thought of a common interest in the prosperity of the whole country, the idea of a true *Res Publica*, may take root in the minds of both races, that no violence be practised by the European against the Hindoo, and no chicane by the Hindoo against the European, that 'Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.'

All this tended towards despotism.

This equal balance held between the two diverse nations requires, however, a steady hand holding the scales. A Folc-mote of the Goths would have made short work of the liberties of the Romans; a meeting of citizens in the Roman Forum, lashed to fury by the harangue of some windy orator, would soon have pulled down the statues of the Gothic king. And thus we are brought by these considerations to the same conclusion to which, as we have seen, all the events in the history of his nation tended. German kingship as wielded by Theodoric had to be despotic. The crown of the arch must be made strong and

for the case of William Longsword, and v. 56–61 for a striking comparison between William the Conqueror and Theodoric.

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heavy to repress the upward thrust of the two opposing nationalities.

Consequently Theodoric's kingdom throws little light on Teutonic customs.

This being so, the laws and usages of the Gotho-Roman state throw not much light on the development of Teutonic institutions. It is the dying Empire, as we shall see, rather than dawning Feudalism, which is displayed in the correspondence of Theodoric's secretary. The *Edictum Theodorici*, to which reference will be made in the next chapter, is not, like the codes of other German races—the Burgundian, the Salian, the Ripuarian—an exposition in barbarous Latin of the customary law of the tribes who had come to seat themselves within the borders of the Empire; but it is rather a selection of such parts of the Theodosian code and of the Roman *Responsa Prudentum* as were suitable for the new monarchy, a few unimportant changes being made in some of their provisions by the supreme will of the king[1].

Gothic law we may be sure there was, to be administered where Goths only were concerned[2]; but it has left little trace in any written documents, no doubt because in the great majority of cases Romans were concerned either alone or together with Goths, and here the irresistible tendency of the magistracy which Theodoric had taken over from the Empire was to make Roman law supreme.

[1] And thus the Edictum Theodorici was in many respects a similar document to the *Breviarium* put forth by his son in-law, Alaric the Visigoth, for the use of his Roman subjects.

[2] It seems to me that Dahn has conclusively proved this point in the fourth part of his *Könige der Germanen*. The very existence of the *Comes Gothorum*, and the manner in which he is ordered (Var. vii. 3) to do justice as between Goth and Goth, and as between Goth and Roman, must convince us that there was still a Gothic law.

There are two offices, however, which we may notice here, before we pass on to consider the Roman side of Theodoric's administration, since they are both purely Teutonic, and were no doubt always held by men of barbarian origin. One is that of the Count of the Goths, the other that of the Saiones.

Comes Gothorum.

1. The *Comes Gothorum* (we know not his Gothic title) was no doubt in practice always a general high in office, perhaps usually a great provincial governor. But his chief duty was to decide, doubtless according to the old traditional law of his people, any disputes which might arise between one Goth and another. Should the controversy lie between a born Goth and a born Roman, in that case he was to associate with himself a Roman jurisconsult and decide the strife 'according to fair reason[1].' In estimating what 'fair reason' required, we may probably conclude that the Roman law, with its vast store of precedents, the accumulated experience of ages, aptly quoted and enforced by a quick-witted jurisconsult, would be almost uniformly victorious over the few and crude maxims of German Right, born in the forest or the pasture-land, and dimly present in the brain of some stalwart Count of the Goths, more able to enforce his conclusions with his sword than with his tongue.

Saio.

2. The *Saiones* were apparently a class of men peculiar to the Ostrogothic monarchy. More honoured than the Roman lictor (who was but a menial servant of the magistrate), but hardly perhaps rising to the dignity of a sheriff or a marshal, they were, so to speak, the arms by which Royalty executed its will.

[1] For the duties and functions of the Comes Gothorum see Cassiodorus, Variarum, vii. 3.

If the Goths had to be summoned to battle with the Franks, a Saio carried round the stirring call to arms[1]. If a Praetorian Prefect was abusing his power to take away his neighbour's lands by violence, a Saio was sent to remind him that under Theodoric not even Praetorian Prefects should be allowed to transgress the law[2]. If a new fort had to be built on some dolomite peak commanding the ravines of the Adige, and shutting out the barbarians of Northern Tyrol, a Saio was despatched to urge and guide the exertions of the provincials. The Saiones seem to have stood in a special relation to the king. They are generally called '*our* Saiones,' sometimes 'our brave Saiones,' and the official virtue which is always credited to them (like the 'Sublimity' or the 'Magnificence' of more important personages) is 'Your Devotion.'

Tuitio regii nominis.

One duty which was frequently entrusted to the Saio was the *tuitio* of some wealthy and unwarlike Roman. It often happened that such a person, unable to protect himself against the rude assaults of sturdy Gothic neighbours, appealed to the King for protection. When the petition was granted, as it probably was in almost all cases, the person thus taken under the *tuitio regii nominis* acquired peculiar rights[3], and any maltreatment of his person or injury to his property was treated as more than an ordinary offence against *civilitas*, as a special act of contempt towards the royal authority. He seems to have had, at any rate in certain cases, a peculiar privilege of suing and being sued directly in the Supreme Court (*comitatus*) of the King, overleaping all courts of inferior jurisdiction.

[1] Var. i. 24. [2] Var. iii. 20.

[3] His position perhaps resembled that of a ward in Chancery.

But the chief visible sign of the King's protection, and the most effective guarantee of its efficiency, was the stout Gothic soldier who as Saio was quartered in the wealthy Roman's house, ready to fight all his battles, and to make all other Goths respect the person and the property of him to whom Theodoric had pledged the royal word for his safety. A payment, of the amount of which we are not informed, but which probably varied according to the wealth of the Roman and the lineage of the Goth, was paid, *commodi nomine*, by the way of douceur, by the defended to the defender.

Abuses to which the institution was liable.

The relation thus established was one which, being itself a somewhat barbarous remedy for barbarism, might easily degenerate from its original intention. Sometimes the protected Roman, having this robust Goth in his house, sharing his hospitality and ready to do his bidding, used him not merely for his own defence but for the oppression of his poorer and weaker neighbours[1]. Sometimes the Saio, tired of ever guarding the soft, effeminate noble committed to his care, and perhaps stung by the silent assumption of superiority in knowledge and culture which lurked in all the Roman's words and gestures, would turn against his host and even violently assault his dainty person. Thus, to his eternal disgrace, did Amara[2], who actually drew a sword against the Senator Petrus, whose defender he was. He wounded his hand, and, had not the Roman been partly sheltered by a door, would have severed it from the wrist. Yet, notwith-

[1] So we may perhaps infer from the caution contained in Var. ii. 4, as well as from human nature.

[2] Var. iv. 27.

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standing this evil deed, he had the audacity to claim from Petrus, *commodi nomine*, the Saio's usual gratuity. Rightly did the indignant King order that Amara should be removed from the post of defender, the duties of which he so strangely discharged, that his place should be given to his countryman Tezutzat, and that he should refund twice the sum which he had exacted for his gratuity.

Slight indications like this of the footing upon which the two nations lived may help us to understand the difficulty of the problem set before Theodoric the common ruler of both of them, and to appreciate more highly the skill which for thirty years he displayed in solving it.

CHAPTER VIII.

THEODORIC AND HIS COURT.

Authorities.

Sources:—

THE ANONYMUS VALESII (described in the text), the Variae of CASSIODORUS, PROCOPIUS de Bello Gothico, and JORDANES de Rebus Geticis.

Guides:—

For the life of Cassiodorus, Herm. Usener's 'Anecdoton Holderi' (Bonn and Wiesbaden, 1877), which will be described in a later chapter, R. Köpke's 'Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen' (Berlin, 1859), Ebert's 'Christlich-Lateinische Litteratur' (Leipzig, 1874), and Monographs on Cassiodorus by August Thorbecke (Heidelberg, 1867) and Adolph Franz (Breslau, 1872). This will be the best place for noticing the chief works of the special *Theodoric literature.*

'Vita Theodorici regis Ostrogothorum et Italiae,' by *Joannes Cochlaeus*, annotated by John Peringskiöld (Stockholm, 1699), was a pretty good book for its time, consisting largely of extracts from Cassiodorus, interspersed with some statements made on very inferior authority. Cochlaeus's want of accurate knowledge of the history of the time is shown by his quoting the celebrated description by Sidonius of the Court of Theodoric the *Visigoth*, as if it applied to Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who came to the throne after the death of Sidonius; but this error, which is frequently made by scholars of the eighteenth century, is probably due to the fact that that letter is included in the editio princeps of the works of Cassiodorus. There is an amusing display of inapposite and probably inaccurate learning, as to Runic inscriptions and the like, in the notes of Peringskiöld.

The three best books on the subject of Theodoric (always

excepting Dahn's volume on the Ostrogothic Kingship) were called forth directly or indirectly by a prize offered in 1808 by the French Institute, for the best essay on the following subject, 'What was the condition of the peoples of Italy in respect of public and private law during the rule of the Ostrogoths? What were the chief principles of the legislation of Theodoric and his successors? and especially, What was the difference which it established between the Conquerors and Conquered?' The thought occurs to one, that the Institute possibly wished to suggest a parallel between Theodoric and Napoleon, or to deduce from the generous policy of the former some rules for the guidance of the latter.

The first prize was taken by a German, Georg *Sartorius*, Professor at Göttingen (Versuch über die Regierung der Ostgothen während ihrer Herrschaft in Italien; Hamburg, 1811), the second by a Frenchman, *Naudet* (Histoire de la Monarchie des Gothes en Italie; Paris, 1810). Sartorius's book, with which I am best acquainted, is an extremely painstaking and helpful treatise on Ostrogothic administration, chiefly, of course, compiled from the letters of Cassiodorus.

Fifteen years later (in 1824), the seed sown by the announcement of the French Institute bore fruit in another German book, 'Geschichte des Ost-Gothischen Reiches in Italien,' by J. C. F. *Manso* (Breslau, 1824). This book deals more with external events than either of the other two just named, and carries on the history to the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom; but it also gives a very useful survey of the laws and administration of Theodoric. Manso reprints at the end of his essay Ennodius's *Panegyricus*, with some comments on difficult passages which have aroused the rather contemptuous criticism of *Fertig* (Magnus Felix Ennodius und seine Zeit, Abth. III).

Of inferior quality are the two following, 'Histoire de Théodoric le Grand, Roi d'Italie,' par L. M. *du Roure* (2 vols. Paris, 1846), and 'Théodoric Roi des Ostrogothes et d'Italie' (the title seems taken from Cochlaeus), par Paul *Deltuf*, Paris, 1869. Both of these books are very inaccurate, and neither can be considered of much value as a historical authority. Du Roure puts in the forefront of his work Cardinal Maury's maxim 'Pour écrire l'histoire il faut la deviner,' and he certainly has guessed it, often with amusing inaccuracy. Yet the book no

doubt served its author's purpose, since it gave him an opportunity of informing his readers (p. 29, n. 1) that the du Roures were a noble family in the South of France descended from a Gothic or Burgundian chief. And, however unfitted he may be for the task of writing a history, it seems impossible for a Frenchman to be dull. Both du Roure and Deltuf have provided us with pleasant reading, and it is an interesting employment for the student to mark their frequent errors. Some of du Roure's political reflections on the character of Theodoric's government are really good, and Deltuf, alone as far as I know among Theodoric's biographers, has noticed the letter which is apparently addressed by Theodoric to the deposed Emperor Augustulus (Cass. Var. iii. 35).

Theodoric from the Roman point of view.

WE have endeavoured in the previous chapter to look at Theodoric king of the Goths and the Romans with the eyes of such of his old barbarian comrades as survived the hardships of the march and the perils of four bloody battles, and found themselves quartered in the pleasant lands of Italy, with every possession that heart could desire except their old freedom. Let us now hear what the Roman inhabitants of the land, the orators and churchmen, who alone could translate his deeds into literature and so transmit his fame to posterity, have to tell us concerning him.

No stirring events mark his reign.

It may be stated at once that no great events and no great historian illustrate his reign. Seldom has there been a better illustration of the proverb, 'Happy is the nation that has no annals;' for in the comparative poverty of our historical information one thing is clear, that the period during which Theodoric bore sway, a period equivalent to the average length of a generation of mankind, was a time of great and generally diffused happiness for the Italian population, one that stood out in emphatic contrast to the century of creeping paralysis which preceded, and to the

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And no great historian. But, had the events of this reign been many we could have said little about them. By some strange fatality, the Ostrogothic King, with all his generous patronage of arts and literature, never lighted on the 'sacred bard' who should keep his fame green through the centuries, nor on the fluent historian who should weave the various actions of his time into a connected history. Or, if such a work ever was written—and possibly the later books of Cassiodorus' history of the Goths would have answered to this description—the foolish sieve of Time, which so often retains the sand and lets the pure gold fall through into oblivion, has not preserved it to our days.

Much valuable and interesting information however, as to both home and foreign affairs, can be obtained from the official correspondence of Cassiodorus, the manner of the composition of which has been glanced at in the previous chapter. But the only continuous account of the history of his reign—except a few meagre sentences of Jordanes—is contained in the mysterious fragment which is quoted by historians as

'Anonymus Valesii.' *Anonymus Valesii*, and which is always printed (for no very obvious reason) at the end of the history of Ammianus Marcellinus.

This unknown scribe, with whom we have already made some acquaintance[1], takes his literary name from Henri de Valois, a French scholar of the seventeenth century, who first introduced him to the modern world.

546-556. According to an opinion now generally accepted, he is

[1] See vol. ii. p. 475, and chapter vi. of this volume.

none other than that Maximian Bishop of Ravenna whose Mosaic portrait we still see on the walls of S. Vitale, where, arrayed in alb and pallium and with a jewelled cross in his hand, he consecrates the new church in the (imaginary) presence of Justinian and his Court. Whoever the writer be, he writes as an ecclesiastic and as an inhabitant of Ravenna. A vein of something like legendary adornment runs through his narrative, nor should we be justified in quoting him as an absolutely accurate witness for events, some of which may have happened twenty or thirty years before his birth, and the latest of which (as recorded by him) probably happened in his boyhood. But, as has been before hinted, there is every reason to think that for some of his names and dates he relies upon the absolutely contemporary but now perished 'Annals of Ravenna[1];' and on the whole, as historical authorities go, he is, notwithstanding his anonymousness, a very fair voucher for the truth of the facts which he records.

As the extract is not long, and is of considerable importance, it will be well to translate it entire:—

THE ANONYMUS VALESII ON THEODORIC.

'Now Theodoric had sent Faustus Niger on an embassy to Zeno. But as the news of that Emperor's death arrived before the return of the embassy, and as the entry into Ravenna and the death of Odoacer had intervened, the Goths confirmed Theodoric to themselves as king, without waiting for the orders of the new Emperor.

Theodoric king in Ravenna.

'He was a man most brave and warlike, the natural

[1] The 'Ravennatische Fasten' of the German scholars.

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Theodoric's pedigree, and character.

son of Walamir[1] king of the Goths. His mother was called Ereriliva[2], a Gothic woman but a Catholic, who took at baptism the name Eusebia.

'He was an illustrious man and full of good-will towards all. He reigned thirty-three years, and during thirty of those years so great was the happiness attained by Italy that even the wayfarers were at peace[3]. For he did nothing wrong. Thus did he govern the two nations, the Goths and Romans, as if they were one people, belonging himself to the Arian sect, but arranging that the civil administration of the Romans should continue as it was under the Emperors[4].

His administration.

He gave presents and rations to the people, yet though he found the Treasury quite bankrupt[5], by his own labour he brought it round into a flourishing condition. Nothing did he attempt against the Catholic faith. He exhibited games in the Circus and Amphitheatre, so that he received from the Romans the titles Trajan and Valentinian

[1] This is the persistent error of the Byzantines, who never could be made to understand that he was the son of *Theudemir.*

[2] Erelieva in Jordanes.

[3] 'Qui regnavit annos xxxiii. cujus temporibus felicitas est secuta Italiam per annos triginta,' etc. Perhaps the writer does not mean to contrast the thirty and the thirty-three years. If he does, he probably wishes to except the three years 523–526 during which Theodoric was oppressing the Catholics.

[4] 'Sic gubernavit duas gentes in uno Romanorum et Gothorum, dum ipse quidem Arrianae sectae esset, tamen militia [militiam] Romanis sicut sub principes esse praecepit.' It seems a bold thing to translate *militia* 'civil administration,' but the language of the Theodosian Code, of Cassiodorus, and of Lydus (De Dignitatibus) fully justifies us in doing so. It is impossible that the author can mean that the *army* was exactly what it had been under the Emperors.

[5] 'Ex toto foeneum;' literally, 'stuffed with hay.'

(as he did in truth seek to bring back the prosperous times of those emperors); and on the other hand, the obedience rendered by the Goths to the *Edictum Theodorici* showed that they recognised its author as in all things their Mightiest [1].

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'Unlettered as he was, so great was his shrewdness that some of his sayings still pass current among the common folk, a few of which we may be allowed here to preserve.

His sayings.

'He said, "He who has gold and he who has a devil can neither of them hide what they have got."

'Also, "The Roman when in misery imitates the Goth, and the Goth when in comfort imitates the Roman [2]."

'A certain man dying left a wife and a little boy too young to know his mother. The child was taken away by a friend of the father's into another province, and there educated. Returning as a young man to his mother, he found that she had betrothed herself to a suitor. When however she saw her son she embraced him, and blessed God for restoring him to her: so he abode with her thirty days. At the end of that time her lover returns, sees the youth and

The Judgment of Theodoric.

[1] 'Et a Gothis secundum edictum suum quem [quod] eis constituit, rex fortissimus in omnibus judicaretur.' The above translation, or rather paraphrase, of a very difficult passage, is, it must be confessed, a very hazardous one. Dahn (Kön. der Germ. iv. 5) supposes a line to have got out of its place and reads, 'Ut etiam a Romanis Trajanus vel Valentinianus adpellaretur, quorum tempora secundum edictum suum quem eis constituit, sectatus est et a Gothis rex fortissimus in omnibus judicaretur.' Yet even this makes a very flat ending.

[2] Item, 'Romanus miser imitatur Gothum, et utilis Gothus imitatur Romanum.' The antithesis seems to require *utilis* instead of the better supported reading *vilis*.

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asks "Who is this?" She replied, "My son. When he found that she had a son, he began to claim back again his earnest-money [1], and to say, "Either deny that this is your son, or else I go hence." Thus compelled by her lover, the woman began to deny the son whom she had previously owned, and ordered him out of the house as a stranger to her. He answered that he had returned, as he had a right to do, to his mother in the house of his father. Eventually the son appealed to the King against his mother, and the King ordered her to appear before him. "Woman!" said he, "thou hearest what this young man urges against thee. Is he thy son or no?" She answered, "He is not my son, but as a stranger did I entertain him." Then when the woman's son had told all his story in the King's Court, the King said to her again, "Is he thy son or no?" Again she said, "He is not my son." Said the King to her, "And what is the amount of thy possessions, woman [2]?" She answered, "As much as 1000 solidi" [£600]. Then the King swore that nothing would satisfy him, unless the woman took *him* (the young man) for her husband instead of the suitor. With that the woman was struck with confusion, and confessed that he was indeed her son. And many more stories of the same kind are related of him.

[1] *Arrhae.* The suitor evidently wants the woman only for the sake of her property, which she cannot make over to him if she has a son.

[2] The King at this point suspects that there is some pecuniary reason for the woman's obstinate denial. Having satisfied himself on this point, he then, by an artifice not unlike the Judgment of Solomon, elicits the truth. See a similar story about Claudius in Suetonius, cap. xv.

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His royal alliances.

'Afterwards he received from the Franks a wife named Augofleda[1]; for he had had a wife before his accession to the throne who had borne him two daughters. One, named Arevagni[2], he gave in marriage to Alaric king of the Visigoths in Gaul, and the other, named Theodegotha, to Sigismund son of King Gundebaud [the Burgundian].

Peace with Anastasius.

'Having made his peace with the Emperor Anastasius through the mediation of Festus for his unauthorised assumption of the royal title[3], [the Emperor] also restored to him all the ornaments of the palace which Odoachar had transmitted to Constantinople.

Contested election to the Papacy, 498.

Visit to Rome, 500.

'At the same time there arose a strife in the city of Rome between Symmachus and Laurentius, both of whom were consecrated [bishops]. By Divine ordering Symmachus, the worthier of the two, prevailed. After peace had been restored King Theodoric went to Rome, the Church's capital[4], and paid his devotions to the Blessed Peter as devoutly as any Catholic. To meet him, Pope Symmachus and all the Senate and people of Rome poured forth, with every mark of joy, outside the gates of the city. Then Theodoric entering the city came to the Senate, and at the Palma[5] delivered an address to the people of Rome, promising that by God's help he would keep inviolate all that the preceding Roman sovereigns had ordained.

[1] Audefleda (Jordanes); she was sister of Clovis.

[2] Ostrogotho (Jordanes).

[3] 'Facta pace de praesumptione regni.'

[4] 'Post factam pacem in urbem ecclesiae [?] ambulavit rex Theodericus Romam.'

[5] Otherwise called 'domus Palmata,' probably between the Temple of Concord and the Arch of Severus (Gregorovius, i. 271).

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Largesse to the people.

'Celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of his accession[1] he entered the city in triumph, rode to the palace, and exhibited to the Romans the games of the Circus. He also gave to the Roman people and to the poor a yearly supply of grain to the amount of 120,000 modii [3750 quarters], and for the restoration of the palace or the repair of the walls of the city he ordered 200 lbs. [of gold = £8000] to be paid annually from the proceeds of the duty on wine[2].

His sister, Vandal queen.

'Moreover, he gave his sister Amalafrigda in marriage to Transimund king of the Vandals.

Liberius Praetorian Prefect, 493-500.

'He made Liberius, whom in the beginning of his reign he had appointed Praetorian Prefect, Patrician, and gave him his as successor in the former office—[The name seems to have dropped out.] Therefore Theodorus son of Basilius [and] Odoin his Count (?) conspired against him[3]. When he had discovered this plot he ordered his head to be cut off[4] in the palace which is called "Sessorium[5]." For (?) at the request of the

Conspiracy of Odoin, 4 May, 500.

[1] 'Per tricennalem triumphans populo ingressus palatium.' How are we to explain this passage? Is it the thirtieth anniversary of Theodoric's association with his father in the Gothic kingship that is here commemorated?

[2] 'De arca vinariâ.'

[3] This is all that we can make of the text as it stands. Possibly Theodorus was really the successor of Liberius, so that Odoin was the sole rebel. The word translated above 'conspired' (insidiabatur) is in the singular.

[4] Compare Contin. Prosperi (M. S. Hafn.): 'Ceteo v. c. consule [504]: His consulibus Theodoricus rex Romam ingressus occidit Odomum comitem IIII. non. Mai.' Marius has, at the right year 500, 'Eo anno interfectus est Odoind Romae.' The chronology of Contin. Prosperi is very inaccurate just here.

[5] On the authority of a passage in Anastasius' Lives of the Popes (ap. Muratori, iii. 108), this Sessorian palace is fixed near

people he directed that the words of the promise which he had made them in his popular harangue should be engraved on a brazen tablet and fixed in a place of public resort.

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'Then returning to Ravenna in the sixth month he gave Amalabirga his sister's daughter in marriage to Herminifrid king of the Thuringians. And thus he pleased all the nations round about him; for he was a lover of manufactures and a great restorer of cities.

His niece queen of the Thuringians.

'He restored the aqueduct of Ravenna which Trajan had built, and after a long interval of time again introduced water into the city. He made the palace perfect, but did not dedicate it, and he finished the porticoes round the palace.

Buildings at Ravenna,

'Also at Verona he erected baths and a palace, and carried a portico from the gate to the palace. The aqueduct, which had long been destroyed, he renewed, and introduced water through it. Moreover he surrounded the city with new walls.

at Verona,

'At Ticinum [Pavia] also he built a palace, baths, and an amphitheatre, and carried new walls round the city. On many other cities also he bestowed many benefits. Thus he so charmed the neighbouring nations that they came under a league with him, hoping that he would be their king. The merchants too from divers provinces came flocking together to him, for so great was the order which he maintained, that, if any one wished to leave gold or silver on his land, it was deemed as safe as if within a walled city. An indication of this was the fact that throughout all

at Pavia.

Peace

the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, at the E. S. E. angle of the city. Its supposed remains, a large semicircular apse of brick with round-headed windows, are still visible.

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Italy he never made gates for any city, and the gates that were in the cities were not closed. Any one who had any business to transact did it at any hour of the night as securely as in the day.

and plenty.

'In his time men bought wheat at 60 modii for a solidus [about 12*s.* a quarter], and for 30 amphorae of wine they paid the same price [2*s.* 4*d.* per gallon].

*   *   *   *   *   *

His want of education.

'Now King Theodoric was an unlettered man, and so successful as a student[1] that after ten years of reigning he was still utterly unable to learn the four letters of his own signature to one of his edicts [𐌸𐌹𐌿𐌳 Thiud, if in Gothic, THEO if in Latin]. Wherefore he ordered a golden plate to be engraved, having the four letters of the royal name pierced through it, so that when he used to sign any document he could place the plate upon the paper, and drawing his pen through the holes could give it the appearance of his own signature.

Consulship of Eutharic his son-in-law, 519.

'Then Theodoric, having conferred the honours of the consulship on [his son-in-law] Eutharic, triumphed at Rome and Ravenna. But this Eutharic was a man of very harsh disposition, and a bitter enemy of the Catholic faith.

Religious disturbances at Ravenna.

'After this, when Theodoric was staying at Verona through fear of hostile movements among the barbarians [north of the Alps[2]], a strife arose between

[1] 'Sic obruto (or perhaps 'obtuso') sensu.' I strongly suspect that this paragraph was originally written concerning the Emperor Justin (of whom precisely the same story is told) and has been transferred to Theodoric by mistake. The paragraph immediately preceding refers to Byzantine affairs.

[2] 'Propter metum gentium.'

the Jews and Christians of the city of Ravenna. For the Jews, disliking those who were baptized, often by way of derision threw persons into the water of the river, and in the same way they made sport of the Lord's Supper [1]. Hereupon the people being inflamed with fury, and being quite past the control of the King, of Eutharic, and even of Peter who was then bishop, arose against the synagogues and soon burned them. Then the Jews rushed to Verona, where the King was, and by the agency of Triwan the Grand Chamberlain [2], himself a heretic and a favourer of their nation, they got their case against the Christians presented to the King. He promptly ordered that, for their presumption in burning the synagogues, all the Roman population of Ravenna should pay a contribution sufficient to provide for their restoration; and those who had no money to pay were to be flogged through the streets of the city while the crier proclaimed their offence. Orders to this effect were given to Eutharic-Cilliga and to the Bishop Peter, and thus it was done.'

The 'Anonymus' then begins to narrate the story of the religious troubles and persecutions which clouded the last years of Theodoric, and which will be described in a later chapter.

Let us try to bring to a focus the somewhat confused and inartistic picture which is here drawn for us

[1] A conjectural translation of 'Judaei baptizatos nolentes dum ludunt frequenter oblatam in aquam fluminis jactaverunt. . . . . Quod et in cena eadem similiter contigit.'

[2] 'Praepositus Cubiculi.' Possibly this is the 'Trigguilla regiae praepositus domus' who is vituperated by Boethius (Phil. Cons. i. 4).

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by the most valuable of all witnesses to character, an unfriendly contemporary.

Strength of Theodoric's position.

Evidently there was peace and prosperity, at any rate comparative prosperity, throughout Italy in the reign of Theodoric. Absolute freedom from hostile invasion—except, as we shall see, some trifling ravages of the Byzantines in Apulia — was a great thing; a thing to which Italy may almost be said to have been a stranger during the ninety years that had elapsed, since the clarions of Alaric first sounded in the plains of Pollentia. But yet more important for Italy, in her then condition, was the presence in the royal palace of a strong will, wielding irresistible power and guided by benevolence towards all classes of the people. Long enough had the name and the reality of power been disjoined the one from the other. Long enough had flatterers and rhetoricians pretended to worship the almost divine majesty of the Emperor, while every one knew that in reality some menacing barbarian freebooter, or some yet more intolerable barbarian life-guardsman, was master of the situation. Now, the man who was hailed as king was once more in truth a king of men. *He* knew, every Goth in his disbanded army, every Roman *possessor* in the most secluded valleys of the Appennines, knew, that Theodoric was and would be undisputed master. He could be terrible to all extortionate and unjust governors, because behind him there loomed no figure greater than his own; he could be just, because the welfare of his subjects was in truth his own highest interest; he could be gentle, because he was irresistible.

The same picture of firm and just rule is brought before us by a few sentences of Procopius, who again,

as a man employed in the Byzantine army, may be considered as a witness unfriendly to the Gothic rule.

Testimony of Procopius.

'Theodoric,' says he[1], 'was an extraordinary lover of justice, and adhered rigorously to the laws. He guarded the country from barbarian invasion, and displayed both intelligence and prudence in the highest degree. Of injustice towards his subjects there was hardly a trace in his government, nor would he allow any of his subordinates to attempt anything of the kind, save only that the Goths divided among themselves the same proportion of the land of Italy which Odoacer had given to his partisans. *So then Theodoric was in name a tyrant, but in deed a true king, not inferior to the best of his predecessors,* and his popularity grew greatly, contrary to the ordinary fashion of human affairs, both among Goths and Italians. For generally, as different classes in the State want different things, the government which pleases one party, has to incur the odium of those who do not belong to it.

'After a reign of thirty-seven years he died, having been a terror to all his enemies, and left a deep regret for his loss in the hearts of his subjects.'

Who were Theodoric's ministers?

The fact that such results were achieved by an unlettered chieftain, the scion of an only half-civilised German tribe, must be accounted a signal victory of human intelligence and self-restraint, and justifies, if anything can justify, the tight rein which, while curbing himself, he kept upon the old Teutonic freedom. Obviously however, with the best good-will on the part of the King, these results could not have been obtained in detail unless he had been well

[1] De Bello Gothico, i. 1.

BOOK IV. CH. 8. served by ministers—from the necessity of the case chiefly Roman ministers—like-minded with himself. To these men, the Sullys and the Colberts of the Gothic King, let us now turn our attention.

Liberius, 493-500. The first man who served as Praetorian Prefect under Theodoric, holding that great office for the first seven years of his reign, was *Liberius*. This man—who was of course Roman, not Teutonic, by origin—had occupied an important place among the ministers of Odovacar[1]. Unlike the treacherous Tufa, he remained faithful to the last to his barbarian chief, and took an active part in directing the operations against Theodoric[2]. On the downfall of his old patron, he showed no unmanly fear as to his own fortunes, no servile haste to propitiate the new lord of Italy, but, with calm sadness, intimated that he accepted the judgment of Heaven, and since he could no longer be loyal to Odovacar, he was willing to serve with equal loyalty that monarch's conqueror. Theodoric was wise enough to accept the proffered service, and, as we have seen, to confer upon the true-hearted Roman the still vast powers of the Praetorian Prefect.

No details of his administration. Unhappily these seven first years of the reign of Theodoric—perhaps its most interesting portion—are an almost absolute blank. Liberius left no such copious record of official work behind him as was left by the fluent Cassiodorus. But we are informed incidentally that one of the chief cares of the new ministry was, as we might have expected, finance.

[1] Our knowledge of the career of Liberius is derived from Var. ii. 16, written on the promotion of his son.

[2] 'Contra quos [Theodoricum sc.] multa fecisse videbatur inimicus.'

He introduced a wise economy into every department of the State, and while the Exchequer found itself every year in a more flourishing condition, the tax-payer was conscious that, at any rate, there was no addition to his previous burdens. It seems probable that some, at least, of that praise which arose from a prosperous and contented Italy should be attributed to these early measures of Liberius.

Apportionment of lands (Tertiarum distributio).

One work of great delicacy and importance, which was successfully performed by him, was the assignment of the Tertiae, or third part of the soil of Italy, to the new-comers. Broadly, as has been already said, the new land-settlement was probably a transfer of these Land-thirds from the men of Odovacar to the men of Theodoric. But there may have been reasons, unknown to us, which prevented this from being the sole principle of distribution, and which obliged the commission, of which Liberius was the head, to proceed in many instances to a new division as between Roman and Goth. Here we are told he showed great tact and skill, settling neighbour by neighbour in such a way that not rivalry but friendship sprang out of their new relation, introducing probably the Gothic settlers chiefly into those parts of the country where the land really cried out for more numerous cultivators, and ever impressing upon his Roman countrymen the great principle of the new government, that the Goth was there for the defence of the whole land, and that, by sacrificing one-third, the Roman cultivator might reckon on enjoying the remaining two-thirds in security[1].

[1] 'Juvat nos referre quemadmodum in tertiarum deputatione, Gothorum Romanorumque et possessiones junxerit et animos.

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497. It was probably through the hands of Liberius that the tedious negotiations with Byzantium passed, those negotiations which ended at length in the recognition of Theodoric as legitimate ruler of Italy. The chief persons employed in these negotiations were *Faustus* and *Festus*, two Roman noblemen of about equal rank, and whom it is not easy to distinguish from one another. Faustus was a successor, though not the immediate successor, of Liberius in the office of Praetorian Prefect[1]; and Festus, who was dignified with the high title of Patrician, was apparently at about the same time Prefect of the City[2]. It may be useful, as a note of distinction between them, to observe that Faustus was the unsuccessful ambassador to Constantinople in 493, Festus the successful one in 497. Further, that while Faustus, in the disputed Papal election of 498[3], took the part of

Faustus.

Festus.

Nam, cum se homines soleant de vicinitate collidere, istis praediorum communio causam noscitur praestitisse concordiae. Sic enim contigit ut utraque natio, dum communiter vivit, ad unum velle convenerit. En factum novum et omnino laudabile. Gratia dominorum de cespitis divisione conjuncta est. Amicitiae populis per damna crevere: et ex parte agri defensor acquisitus est, ut substantiae securitas integra servaretur. Una lex illos et aequabilis disciplina complectitur. Necesse est enim, ut inter eos suavis crescat affectus qui servant jugiter terminos constitutos' (Cass. Var. ii. 16.

[1] I conjecture that Faustus succeeded Cassiodorus the elder as 'Praefectus Praetorio' about 504, and held the office till about 508, but the want of strict chronological arrangement in the Variae makes it difficult to come to any precise conclusion.

[2] He is not thus addressed in the titles of the letters in the Variae, but the subjects of those letters seem to show that this was his office.

[3] To be described in chapter xi.

the ultimately successful candidate, Pope Symmachus, Festus, who desired to obtain a pontiff favourable to the Henoticon of Zeno, sided with the Anti-Pope Laurentius. BOOK IV. CH. 8.

It was in one of the lucid intervals of this prolonged struggle for the chief place in the Roman Church that Theodoric visited the ancient capital of the Empire. 'Murders, robberies, and infinite evils' had afflicted the citizens of Rome, and even the nuns had been cruelly maltreated in this street warfare, which was to decide whether Symmachus or Laurentius was henceforward to have the power of binding and loosing in the kingdom of heaven. But, as has been said, there was a lull in the storm, during which the Ostrogothic King wisely determined to visit the city. Constantinople, the New Rome by the Bosphorus, he had gazed upon near forty years before with eyes of boyish wonder. Now he was to see for himself the mysterious and venerable city by the Tiber; that city which had so long cast her spell upon his people, but of which he, a barbarian from the Danube, was now unquestioned lord. Having knelt devoutly at the shrine of St. Peter, in the long pillar-lined basilica (so unlike its modern representative) reared amid the gardens of Nero, he was met outside the gates of the city by the procession of Pope, senators and people, who, with shouts of loyal welcome, pressed forth to greet him. Then came, as the Anonymus Valesii has told us, the speech in the Forum, the games in the Circus, probably also in the Colosseum, and the solemn renewal of the grain largesse to the Roman populace, which had perhaps been interrupted since the days of Odovacar.

Theodoric's visit to Rome. 500.

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500.

Was the Edictum promulgated at this time?

It seems probable that this may have been the occasion chosen by the King and his enlightened minister for the formal publication of the *Edictum Theodorici*. It is true that the somewhat obscure language of the Anonymus Valesii does not prove, as was once supposed, that it was promulgated at this time. The solemn covenant, to which he refers, engraved on a brazen tablet and posted in the Forum, was quite a different document, and little more than a promise to observe the laws of his predecessors, such a promise as William the Norman gave to govern according to the laws of King Edward. But there is a certain amount of concurrent testimony in favour of this date, and no valid argument against it. Upon the whole, it may fairly be stated as a probable conjecture, though not an ascertained fact, that Theodoric's visit to Rome was the occasion of the publication of the Edict, and that Liberius was its author.

Roman character of the Edictum.

This Edict, of which a slight sketch is given in the Note at the end of this chapter, is (as was stated in the last chapter) utterly unlike the codes which formulated the laws of the other barbarian monarchies. There is hardly a trace in it of German law or German ideas: it is Roman and imperial throughout. We may remember how Sidonius[1] complained of a certain renegade Roman governor, as 'trampling under foot the laws of Theodosius and setting forth the laws of Theodoric.' But here it is a German, a Theodoric himself, who, wisely no doubt for the most part, and with statesmanlike insight into the

[1] ii. 1: 'Leges Theodosianas calcans, Theodoricianasque proponens.'

necessities of the case, treads the laws of his Amal forefathers in the dust and exalts on high the laws of Theodosius. BOOK IV. CH. 8. 500.

It may have been—though there is nothing but one darkly enigmatic sentence in the Anonymus Valesii to confirm the conjecture—the publication of this obviously Romanising edict, and the evident desire of Theodoric to draw as close as possible to his Roman subjects, which brought the Gothic disaffection to a head. Odoin, a barbarian Count[1], planned a conspiracy against his lord. We have no details of the plot or of its discovery. We only know that it failed, and that in the Sessorian Palace, just within the southern wall of Rome (hard by the Basilica della Croce, where rests Helena, mother of Constantine and discoverer of the Holy Cross), the treacherous Goth knelt down to receive the blow of the executioner, and the headless trunk of Odoin showed to all the world that the mild and righteous Theodoric could also be terrible to evil-doers. Conspiracy of Odoin.

It may have been during this tarriance at Rome that Theodoric commenced his great works of draining the Pontine Marshes and repairing the Appian Way, works commemorated in an inscription still preserved in the Piazza at Terracina[2]. At the last-named place, situated about sixty miles from Rome, where a spur of the Volscian mountains juts out into the blue Tyrrhene Sea, stand yet on the brow of the hill the massive ruins Draining of the Pontine Marshes. 'Palazzo di Teodorico' at Terracina.

[1] Possibly assisted by Theodorus, son of Basilius, a Roman, and perhaps a disappointed candidate for the prefecture. But, as has been said, from the appearance of the passage it seems more likely that Odoin was sole conspirator.

[2] See Note F.

BOOK IV. CH. 8. 500.

of the so-called Palace of Theodoric. It may be doubtful how far this name is correctly given to them: but if the great Ostrogoth ever did dwell here, and look forth from these windows over the sea, which his wise rule was covering with the white-winged messengers of commerce, and over the plain where the peaceful army of his labourers was turning the wilderness of the Pontine Marshes into a fruitful field, it was probably during this visit to Rome, in some weeks of *villeggiatura*, away from the sun-baked capital, that he thus sojourned at Terracina.

Repairs of walls of Rome.

We see, from the statement of the Anonymus Valesii, that it was also during the King's residence in Rome that he took in hand the repair of the walls and of the imperial residence on the Palatine. So large a sum as £8000, spent yearly on these objects, would make a marked difference in the condition of both sets of buildings. We learn, from a letter of Cassiodorus (i. 25), that 25,000 *tegulae*—the square flat bricks which the antiquary knows so well—were used yearly in the restoration of the walls. We may well wonder, not that some tiles have been discovered bearing the name and titles of 'Our Lord Theodoric, the benefactor of Rome,' but that the number of these is not much larger[1].

[1] According to Fabretti (Inscriptiones Antiquae, p. 521) many tiles and stones have been found with the inscription—

REG DN THEODE
RICO FELIX ROMA

or—

✠ REG DN THEODE
✠ RICO BONO ROMAE.

Gregorovius (Geschichte der Stadt Rom, i. 294) estimates the number of such tiles at twelve only.

Upon the whole we may probably conclude that this Roman visit, which lasted for six months, was one of the happiest periods in the life of Theodoric. There was peace abroad and at home. The barbarian stranger had borne the ordeal of an entry into the fastidious city by the Tiber, once the capital of the world, successfully, though it was an ordeal before which born Romans, like Constantius and Honorius, had well-nigh quailed. He had addressed the people in the Forum, he had shared the deliberations of the Conscript Fathers in the Senate House, and it seems safe to say that he had produced a favourable impression upon both assemblies. As he journeyed along the Flaminian Way to his chosen home by the Hadriatic, he felt himself more firmly settled in his seat, more thoroughly king of all the Italians as well as of all the Goths, than he had done before. The headless corpse of Odoin was well atoned for by the remembrance of the enthusiastic shouts, both of welcome and farewell, of the Roman people.

Liberius ceases to be Prefect.

During this sojourn in Rome, Liberius, who was now probably a man advanced in years, was honourably dismissed from the laborious though dignified post of Praetorian Prefect, and received the rank of Patrician, which was generally conferred on those who were retiring from this office with the favour of their sovereign.

Cassiodorus the elder takes the office.

His successor as Praetorian Prefect, though perhaps not his immediate successor [1], was Cassiodorus, father of the writer so often named in this history. And here, in order to disentangle a needlessly complicated

[1] If, that is to say, my conjecture be correct that Theodorus, the son of Basilius, really followed Liberius.

BOOK IV. CH. 8.

discussion, a few sentences must be devoted to the Cassiodorian pedigree.

Ancestors of the author.

From a sketch of the history of his ancestors, which Cassiodorus [1] (the author) included in the official letter announcing to the Senate his father's elevation to the Patriciate [2], we learn that, for at least three generations, the family had taken an active part in public life.

Cassiodorus I.

The *first* Cassiodorus who is here mentioned attained to the rank of an Illustris, and held a leading position in the province of Bruttii, which, with the neighbouring

Spelling of the name, Cassiodorus or Cassiodorius?

[1] German scholars are now nearly unanimous in spelling the name Cassiodor*i*us. There is MS. authority for both forms of the name, but it is argued with some force that, though it is easy to understand how *rus* could arise from the ignorance of transcribers, who met with the genitive *ri*, and did not know that that was a proper inflection of *rius*, it is not easy to see how the contrary change could have taken place and *rius* have arisen from *rus*. On the other hand, it is clear that the classical form of the name was Cassiod*orus*. In the Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, No. 2322 b[32] (vol. ii. p. 1044), is the sepulchral inscription (found at the island of Rhenea, close to Delos) of a woman who was 'a Roman citizen and sister of Q. Acilius (?) Casiodorus' (Ῥωμαία, ἀδελφὴ δὲ Κοΐντου Ἀκειλίου Κασιοδώρου). No. 4466 (vol. iv. p. 218) is from Antioch, an inscription on the tomb of a certain Cassiodorus who died at the age of twenty-four, leaving an infant daughter one year old. The important line runs, Εἴκοσι τέσσαρ' ἔχων Κασσιόδωρος ἔτη. There is no inscription with the form *rius*. Further, it appears from a verse of Alcuin's that Cassiodorus was the accepted form in the eighth century—

'Cassiodorus item Chrysostomus atque Johannes.'

It seems therefore undesirable to abandon the spelling which is most usual with English scholars. (The above quotation from Alcuin is from the De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis, p. 843 of 2nd volume in Migne's edition of his works, and is borrowed by me from A. Franz.)

[2] Cassiodori Variarum i. 4 (see also 3).

island of Sicily, he defended, apparently with a troop raised at his own cost, from an invasion of the Vandals. This may very probably have occurred in the year 440, when, as we learn from the Chronicle of his descendant, 'Gaiseric sorely afflicted Sicily[1].' 440.

Cassiodorus II, the friend of Aetius.

His son, the *second* Cassiodorus, was a Tribune (or, as we should say, Colonel) in the army of Valentinian III, and a *Notarius* in the secret cabinet of the Emperor. In both capacities he seems to have attached himself zealously to the party of the brave and statesmanlike Aetius, the man to whom all true Roman hearts then turned with longing. In company with the hero's son Carpilio he went on an embassy to 440-450. the court of Attila, one doubtless of the innumerable embassies with which the Emperor sought to soothe the anger of the terrible Hun in the years between 440 and 450[2]. According to his descendant, Cassiodorus exercised, over the quarrelsome Mongol, something of the same magnetic influence that was afterwards obtained by Pope Leo. He dared to meet the omnipotent victor in argument; he calmly braved his wrath; he convinced him of the reasonableness of the Roman demands; he inspired him with respect for the State which could still send forth such ambassadors: finally, he brought back with him the peace which was well-nigh despaired of. We are not bound to believe all this highly-coloured picture, which seems to be at least suggested by the embassy of Leo, perhaps simply adapted from that well-known scene. But we may fairly presume that his conduct

[1] 'His consulibus Gaisericus Siciliam graviter affligit.'

[2] See vol. ii. p. 157, n. 1. (In the first Edition this mission was incorrectly assigned to the father of Cassiodorus.)

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earned the approbation of his superiors, since Aetius offered him the rank of an Illustris, and some charge upon the public revenues, if he would remain at court [1]. Cassiodorus, however, preferred returning to his beloved Bruttii, and there, under the shadow of the purple hills of Calabria, ended his days in quietness, undisturbed apparently by the ruins of the falling Empire.

Cassiodorus III serves Odovacar,

His son, the *third* Cassiodorus, entered more boldly into public life. When still a young man he discharged the duties of *Comes Privatarum Rerum* and *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* (the two offices which represent the duties of our Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and Chancellor of the Exchequer), and in both capacities he earned the good opinion alike of his own countrymen and of his barbarian master Odovacar. In the struggle between Rugian and Ostrogoth he seems not to have taken a part, but, as soon as Theodoric's throne was set up at Ravenna, he at once offered his services to the new monarch, and they were gladly accepted. The inhabitants of Sicily, who looked upon the Gothic rule with doubt and suspicion, were won over by their neighbour to the side which he had made his own; and, on the other hand, his wise and soothing words restrained Theodoric from the revenge to which some hostile acts of the Sicilians might otherwise have impelled him [2]. For these services

and then Theodoric.

[1] 'Mox honore [honorem] illustratus, mox reddituum dona aequus arbiter offerebat.' A very obscure sentence. Is it possible that for 'aequus' we should read 'Aetius'? It looks as if the offer were of the Comitiva Sacrarum Largitionum, but it is hard to make this out of the words.

[2] 'Siculorum suspicantium mentes ab obstinatione praecipiti

he had been rewarded with the post of *Corrector* of Lucania and Bruttii, chief governor, that is to say, of his own native province[1]. He had large herds of horses on his estates—the Calabria of that day by the dense shade of its forests afforded great advantages to the horse-breeder—and out of these he made such generous presents to Theodoric that his son in later years, speaking by the mouth of the King, said (no doubt hyperbolically), 'he has mounted our whole army[2].'

Praetorian Prefect (between 500 and 504 ?).

This was the man who, having passed through all the lower ranks of the official service with credit and success, was now, in the first or second year of the sixth century, raised to the high honour of *Praefectus Praetorio;* an honour which had been already held for the extraordinary term of eighteen years by his kinsman Heliodorus, at Constantinople[3], when Theodoric himself was a guest of the Eastern Emperor. His own tenure of office was not long[4]—we may

deviasti, culpam removens illis, nobis necessitatem subtrahens ultimis.' This passage occurs in Var. i. 3, from which most of this part of my sketch is taken.

[1] 'Bruttiorum et Lucaniae tibi dedimus mores regendos' (Var. i. 3). Is there not in this phrase an allusion to the title Corrector, which (instead of Consularis) denoted the governor of this province?

[2] 'Hinc est quod candidatus noster Gothorum semper armat exercitus.' Compare Var. viii. 31 for the horse-breeding of Bruttii.

[3] Var. i. 4: 'Hi autem et in partibus Orientis parentum laude viguerunt. Heliodorus enim, qui in illa republica *nobis videntibus* praefecturam bis novenis annis gessit eximie, eorum consanguinitati probatur adjungi.' Beyond the words 'nobis videntibus,' which fix Heliodorus's prefecture to a date between 462 and 488, we seem to have no precise indication of the time.

[4] I infer this from the fact that we have no letters of Cassiodorus Senator addressed to his father as Praetorian Prefect.

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conjecture it to have ended by the year 504—nor, except from the general terms of laudation in which it is referred to by his son[1], have we any information respecting it. We are fairly entitled to infer that he carried forward the policy of mild firmness and equal justice to both nations, which had been inaugurated by Theodoric and Liberius, and that his short administration contributed its share to the peaceful happiness of Italy.

Cassiodorus III is the means of bringing forward his son,

Its chief event however, and that which has made it worth while to dwell upon the family honours in so much detail, was the fact that it introduced his son to the notice of Theodoric, and was the means of starting that son on an official career which lasted for nearly forty years, and will for ever connect his name beyond any other name in literature with the varying fortunes of the Ostrogothic monarchy.

Cassiodorus IV (Senator).

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, the fourth of the family whose fortunes we have to trace, was born at Squillace in Calabria about the year 480[2].

[1] 'Meministis enim, et adhuc vobis recentium rerum memoria ministratur, qua moderatione praetoriano culmini locatus insederit, et evectus in excelsum, inde magis despexerit vitia prospectorum. . . . Junxit bene cum universorum gaudiis nostra compendia, aerario munificus et juste solventibus gratiosus. . . . Fuit itaque, ut scitis, militibus verendus, provincialibus mitis, dandi avidus, accipiendi fastidiosus, detestator criminis, amator aequitatis,' and so on.

[2] This date, at any rate as an approximation, may now, especially since the appearance of Usener's monograph, be considered definitely established. With the disentanglement of the lives of Senator and his father, all inducement to put back the birth of the former to 467, or thereabouts, vanishes, and Trittheim's notice, 'Claruit temporibus Justini Senioris usque ad imperii Justini junioris paene finem, annos habens aetatis

The year was a memorable one, since it witnessed the birth of three of the foremost men of their age—Cassiodorus, Boethius, and Benedict, the politician, the philosopher, and the saint. The place—let it be sketched for us by the loving hand of the greatest of its sons [1] :—

His birth-place, Squillace.

'Scyllacium, the first city of Bruttii, founded by Ulysses the overthrower of Troy, is a city overlooking the Hadriatic Sea [more strictly the Gulf of Tarentum], and hangs upon the hills like a cluster of grapes; hills which are not so high as to make the ascent of them a weariness, but high enough to give a delicious prospect over the verdant plains and the deep blue back of the sea [2]. This city sees the rising sun from its very cradle. The coming day sends forward no Aurora as herald of its approach, but with one burst uplifts its torch, and lo! the brightness quivers over land and sea [3]. It beholds the rejoicing Sun-god, and so basks in his brightness all the day, that with good reason it might challenge the claims of Rhodes to represent itself as his birthplace. Its sky is clear, its climate temperate. Sunny in winter, it yet enjoys cool summers, and this moderation reflects itself in the character of its inhabitants. For a burningly hot country makes its children sharp and fickle, a cold one

plusquam 95 A.D. 575,' becomes so probable that we cannot reject it, though it remains a mystery whence he obtained this information.

[1] The following extract is from Variarum, xii. 15.

[2] No doubt Cassiodorus was thinking of Homer's

Εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.

[3] Just in the moment of dawn it was my fortune to see Squillace, perched upon its conical hill, after a long night-journey from Naples in the spring of 1882.

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heavy and cunning; the best characters are produced by a more temperate clime.

The Vivarium.

'Scyllacium has an abundant share of the delicacies of the sea, possessing near it those Neptunian doors which we ourselves constructed[1]. At the foot of Mount Moscius we hewed out a space in the bowels of the rocks, into which we caused the streams of Nereus to flow. The sight of the fishes sporting in their free captivity delights all beholders. There man feeds the creatures on which he himself will shortly feed; they swim eagerly to take the morsels from his hand: sometimes, when he has fished to satiety, he sends them all back into the water[2].

'Fair is it to see the labours of the husbandmen all round while tranquilly reposing in the city. Here are the cluster-drooping vineyards, there the prosperous toil of the threshing-floor, there the dusky olive shows her face. Thus, as Scyllacium is an unwalled town, you might at choice call it a rural city or an urban farm[3]; and, partaking of both characters, its praises have been sounded far and wide[4].'

Such was Scyllacium[5] and such Bruttii in the days

[1] The Vivaria or salt-water fish ponds, from which the monastery of Cassiodorus derived its name Vivariense.

[2] A conjectural translation of 'Dum habet in potestatem quod capiat, frequenter evenit ut repletus omnia derelinquat.'

[3] 'Hoc quia modo non habet muros, civitatem credis ruralem, villam judicare possis urbanam.'

[4] Too widely in fact for the inhabitants, whose forced labour in providing post-horses for official visitors was the grievance which called forth this letter from Cassiodorus.

[5] There is an admirable sketch of Scyllacium in Lenormant's 'La Grande Grèce' (Paris, 1881). See also 'The Letters of Cassiodorus' by the present author (London, 1884), where there

of Theodoric's minister. It may be feared that a modern traveller would not find all the delights in the modern Squillace and the modern Calabria which then existed, still less that delicate and lovely civilisation which ten centuries before had tinged every shore and headland of 'the Greater Greece.' Still, as then, the purple chain of Aspromonte divides the sparkling waters of the Eastern and the Western seas. Still do cities, beautiful at a distance, crown the finely-modelled hills that project into the plain. But the temple, with its pure white marble columns, has disappeared: a squalid *comune* replaces the Greek republic, instinct with life and intelligence, or the well-ordered Roman *civitas*. Instead of the white-robed Hellenes, wild-looking peasants, clad in goat-skins, with their guns in their hands, slouch along through the cactus-bordered ways. The Saracen, the Spaniard, and the Bourbon have laid their heavy hands on the lovely region and brutalised its inhabitants. May better days be in store for it and for them in the Italy of the future[1]!

Modern aspect of the place.

The son who was born to Odovacar's minister at Squillace was named, as we have seen, Senator. It seems a strange thing to give a title like this as a personal name; but there is no doubt that it was

Name of Cassiodorus Senator.

is a note on the Topography of Squillace furnished to me by Mr. A. J. Evans.

[1] Even the climate of Calabria would seem to have changed for the worse, probably owing to the destruction of the forests. Cassiodorus found it 'aeris dotatione temperata.' The country now has a parched and desolate appearance. Very recently a murderous quarrel in some Italian barracks arose out of the contemptuous expression of a northern soldier, 'What can you find to do in that sun-baked Calabria?'

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done in this case. Cassiodorus speaks of himself as Senator, and is so addressed by others[1]. His letters are written by 'Senator, a man of illustrious rank;' and in his Chronicle, when he has to record his own consulship (A.D. 514), his entry is 'Senatore, viro clarissimo, consule.'

His education.

It is evident that the young Senator received the best education that Italy could furnish in his day, and imbibed with enthusiasm all that the rhetoricians and grammarians who conducted it could impart to so promising a pupil. All through life he was essentially a literary man. We may perhaps in this aspect compare him to Guizot, a man of letters who rose to be first minister of a mighty monarchy, but whose heart was always given to the studies which engrossed him when still a professor in the University of Paris. There are some indications in Cassiodorus' works that, next to Rhetoric, next to the mere delight of stringing words together in sonorous sentences, Natural History had the highest place in his affections. He never misses an opportunity of pointing a moral lesson by an allusion to the animal creation, especially to the habits of birds. Of course most of the stories which he thus introduces are mere imaginations, and often of a very laughable kind; but, had he fallen on a happier and more scientific age, it is reasonable to think that there might have been found in him some of the qualities of a Buffon or an Audubon.

His entry into public life.

It seems probable that, immediately on the elder Cassiodorus receiving the post of Praetorian Prefect, Senator, still quite a young man, obtained an appoint-

[1] He is called Senator by Jordanes, and by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his life of Pope Hormisdas.

ment as his *Consiliarius*, or legal assessor, a post generally filled by young men with some legal training,—we shall find Procopius holding it in the tent of Belisarius,—and one which no doubt gave valuable experience to any man who hoped some day to sit himself on the judgment-seat[1].

His great speech brings him the Quaestorship.

It was while he was thus acting as Consiliarius to his father that he pronounced in presence of Theodoric an oration in his praise, which by its eloquence so delighted the King that he appointed him, still quite a young man, to the office of Quaestor[2], which brought with it what we should call cabinet-rank. The rank of Illustris gave him the privilege of sharing the secret and friendly conversation of the monarch, and entitled him to pronounce in his master's name solemn harangues to the ambassadors of foreign nations, to the Senate, sometimes perhaps to the citizens and the army. Allusion has already been made[3] to the spirit in which Theodoric probably regarded the necessary labour of translating his own weighty, sledge-hammer sentences into the tumid Latin of the Lower Empire. But, however Theodoric may have regarded that work, there can be no doubt that Cassiodorus thoroughly enjoyed it. To have the charge of the correspondence of so great a king, to address to the officials of Italy, or even to the Sacred Majesty of Byzantium, a series of flowing sentences interspersed with philosophical

[1] I do not understand why the word *consiliarius* does not occur in the elaborate Notitia Dignitatum, unless perhaps it is a general word to denote all the members of the Prefect's 'Officium,' from the Princeps to the Singularii.

[2] The authority for this statement is the 'Anecdoton Holderi,' edited by Usener.

[3] See preceding chapter.

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reflections, excellent if not new, and occasionally to illustrate one's subject with a 'delicious digression[1]' on the habits of birds, the nature of the chameleon, the invention of letters, or the fountain of Arethusa, —this was happiness indeed; and, though the *emolumenta* of the office were large, one may believe that Cassiodorus would have been willing to pay, instead of receiving them, for the privilege of doing the very work which was more to his liking than that done by any other Italian between the mountains and the sea[2].

His faults as a writer.

Cassiodorus has been aptly likened[3] to one of the

[1] 'Voluptuosa digressio.'

[2] For further information as to the twelve books of Various Letters of Cassiodorus, I must refer my readers to my Abstract of them published at the same time as this volume. Finding it impossible to draw all the manifold details furnished us in these letters into one harmonious picture, I have thought it best to let the collection speak for itself, and invite the student (with the help of a full Index) to pick out the letters on those subjects in which he is most interested. Some points of Theodoric's state-system are discussed in the Abstract at greater length than was possible in this history.

Without going here into a discussion as to the chronology, it may be stated that the collection (which is not arranged in strict order of time begins about 504 (certainly not earlier than 501), and ends not later than 540, probably a year or two earlier. The first five books contain letters written in the name of Theodoric; the sixth and seventh, the Formulae of admission to various dignities; the eighth and ninth, letters written in the name of Athalaric; the tenth, in the names of Amalasuntha, Theodahad and his wife, and Witigis. The eleventh and twelfth are entirely composed of the letters of Cassiodorus himself, when holding the office of Praetorian Prefect.

Twelve was a favourite number with Senator. His Gothic History, his History of the Church, and his collection of letters (Variarum) are all arranged in twelve books.

[3] By Dean Church in an article in the Church Quarterly Review (July 1880).

improvisatori of modern Italy. The Variae 'are State papers put into the hands of an *improvisatore* to throw into form, and composed with his luxuriant verbiage, and also with his coarse taste. The shortest instructions begin with an aphorism or an epigram. If they are more important or lengthy, they sparkle and flash with conceits or antitheses, and every scrap of learning, every bit of science or natural history, every far-fetched coincidence which may start up in the writer's memory, however remote in its bearing on the subject, is dragged in to exalt or illustrate it, though the subject itself may be of the plainest and most matter-of-fact kind. You read through a number of elaborate sentences, often tumid and pompous, sometimes felicitous and pointed, but all of the most general and abstract sort; and nestling in the thick of them, towards the end of the letter or paper, you come upon the order, or instruction, or notification, for which the letter or paper is written, almost smothered and lost in the abundance of ornament round it.'

His merits as a statesman.

Yet let us not be unjust to the rhetorician-statesman. We can all see, and seeing must smile at, the literary vanity which peeps out from every page of his letters. All who consult those letters for historical facts must groan over the intolerable verbosity of his style, and must sometimes wish that they could have access to the rough, strong sentences of the Gothic King, instead of the wide expanse of verbiage into which his secretary has diluted them. Yet literary vanity was by no means the only motive of his service. Like his father, and like Liberius, he had perceived that this so-called barbarian was the best and wisest ruler that Italy had had for centuries, and that the

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'A less drear ruin then than now,'

may have spoken to him, as it does to us, of the disastrous change since the days when Rome was a little town and those plains were covered with the farms of industrious and happy husbandmen. Above all, as the instincts of a true statesman may have showed him, a return, at that time of day, to the imperial order of things meant dependence on the Eastern Emperor, on grasping, grovelling, eunuch-governed Byzantium. 'Let the old Roman Empire go, and let Italy live: and if she is to live, none so fit to guide her destinies as Theodoric.' It would be unsafe to assert that this thought, thus definitely expressed, found an entrance to the mind of Cassiodorus or any other patriotic Roman of the sixth century. But it was the limit towards which many thoughts were tending (ignorant, as ours are, of the future that is before us but conscious that some bit of the past has to be put away); and the subsequent history of Italy, traced in characters of blood from Belisarius to Barbarossa, showed how well it had been for her if that idea, of dissevering her from the wreck of the ruined Empire, might but have been realised.

It was with this hope doubtless, of reconciling the proud and sensitive Roman to the hegemony of the

sturdy Goth, that Cassiodorus, near the middle of his official life[1], composed in twelve books that history of the Goths with which we have already made acquaintance through the extracts taken from it by the hasty and ignorant Jordanes[2]. In this book, as he himself says, speaking of it through the mouth of his king[3], 'he carried his researches up to the very cradle of the Gothic race, gathering from the stores of his learning what even hoar antiquity scarce remembered. He drew forth the kings of the Goths from the dim lurking-place of ages, restoring to the Amal line the splendour that truly belonged to it, and clearly proving that for seventeen generations Athalaric's[4] ancestors had been kings. Thus did he assign a Roman origin to Gothic history, weaving as it were into one chaplet the flowers which he had culled from the pages of widely-scattered authors.'

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Cassiodorus' History of the Goths. cir. 520.

In other words, he collected what 'hoar antiquity' among the Gothic veterans had to tell him of the old Amal kings, the fragments of their battle-songs and sagas, and persuaded or forced them to coalesce with what his classical authors, Dio and Trogus and Strabo, had to tell him about the early history of the dim

Principle of its composition.

[1] Köpke thinks that Cassiodorus brought down his Gothic History to the death of Athalaric (534). But Usener is, I think, right in maintaining that Variarum, ix. 25, implies that it was finished before the death of Theodoric (526). On the authority of the newly-discovered fragment (Anecdoton Holderi) he assigns its composition to the period between 518 and 521.

[2] 'Suades ut nostris verbis duodecim Senatoris volumina De Origine actibusque Getarum, ab olim adusque nunc per generationes regesque descendentia, in uno et hoc parvo libello coartem' (Jordanes, Prologue to *De Rebus Geticis*).

[3] Variarum, ix. 25.

[4] The grandson of Theodoric.

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Northern populations. By identifying the Goths with the Getae—an error for which he is not originally responsible—and by claiming for them all the fantastic imaginations of the poets about the 'Scythians'—a word of as wide and indefinite a meaning as the 'Indians' of modern discoverers—he succeeded in constructing for the fore-elders of Theodoric a highly respectable place in classical antiquity. He 'made the Gothic origin Roman'—nay, rather pre-Roman, carrying back their earliest kings to Hercules and Theseus and the siege of Troy, and thus giving that connection with the cycle of Homeric legend which an upstart nation valued, as an upstart family with us values a pedigree which shows that it came over with the Conqueror.

The fictions which it contains may have been useful at the time.

All this seems a little childish to us now, and indeed the chief work of a modern enquirer is to unwind that which Cassiodorus wound together so carefully, to disentangle what 'hoar antiquity' told him (the only thread that is of any value) from the flimsy and rotten threads which he collected from various authors in his library. But, for the man and the age, the work was doubtless a useful and creditable one. Many a Roman noble may have accepted a little more readily the orders of the so-called barbarian, who turned out to be not so great a barbarian after all, now that Cassiodorus, nearly the most learned man of his day, had proved that Goths fought against the Greeks at the siege of Troy, and that possibly even Theodoric might be the remote descendant of Telephus. And the great King himself, who from those early days at Byzantium had always half-loved and admired the Roman State, though he felt that his rude Goths had in them some-

thing nobler;—to him this reconciling history of his clever secretary, which showed that he might be a true-hearted Goth and yet listen with delight to the verses of Homer, and gaze with rapture on the statues of Praxiteles, since these too were kinsmen of his forefathers, must have been a welcome discovery, and must have given him fresh courage to persevere in his life-work of conveying the blessings of *civilitas* to both nations of his subjects.

Strange is it to reflect that, after all, there was a truth underlying this odd jumble of Scytho-Geto-Gothic-Greek traditions,—a truth which scarcely till the beginning of this century was fully brought to light. Philology has now made it clear that Goth, Roman, and Greek were not really very distant relations, and the common home of the Aryan nations in the Asiatic highlands or elsewhere is something like a scientific compensation for the lost belief that all European nations were represented by their progenitors at the siege of Troy.

Conferences between the King and his Minister.

If Cassiodorus, with a true conviction that he was thus best serving his country, brought his loyal service to Theodoric, there can be no doubt that the heart of Theodoric also warmed towards *him*. He found in him the very minister whom he needed, to help him in fashioning his own great ideas of government, and to put them in the most acceptable shape before the Roman people. Often, we may be sure, in the '*gloriosa colloquia*' which the subject so lovingly commemorates, did King and Quaestor talk over the difficulties of the state, the turbulent freedom of the Goths, the venality and peculation of the Roman officials, the want of any high aim among the nobles or great purpose among

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the citizens, still proud of the name of Romans, but incapable of being stirred by anything nobler than a chariot-race, a battle between the Blues and Greens, or at best a contested Papal election. Often too would the remedies for these evils be discussed. Cassiodorus, like so many fluent rhetoricians, would perhaps think that it only required a sufficient number of his eloquent essays to establish *civilitas* in the new state, to make the Romans honest and the Goths law-abiding. Theodoric, with the Northern patience and the Northern melancholy, would refuse to accept any such optimist view of the situation; and sometimes, while feeling that the work was long and his life was shortening, would heave a sigh at the remembrance that Providence, so gracious to him in all else, had denied him the gift of a son, strong and valiant, to carry on his great enterprise.

Theodoric's only legitimate child, his daughter Amalasuntha.

Amalasuntha, the only legitimate child of Theodoric, was a woman endowed with much of her father's courage and strength of will, and more than her father's love for the civilisation and literature of Rome. Possibly foreseeing that this tendency to copy the manners of the less warlike people might bring her into collision with the martial Goths after his decease, Theodoric determined to marry her to no Roman noble, but to a Goth of the purest blood that he could meet with. He had beside her one daughter (the child of a concubine) living in Spain as the widow of Alaric the Visigoth. From his connection with that country he heard that there was dwelling there a scion of the old Ostrogothic house, Eutharic[1] son of Wideric, grandson

[1] Surnamed Cillica or Cilliga, I know not for what reason.

(or more likely great-grandson) of King Thorismund the Chaste, and therefore a lineal descendant of the mighty Hermanric, who once ruled all the lands between the Baltic and the Euxine. Eutharic was well reported of for valour and prudence and comeliness of person. The King summoned him to his court, gave him his daughter's hand in marriage, and four years later conferred upon him the honour of the consulship. The Gothic prince-consort visited Rome in order to celebrate his assumption of the consular *trabea* with becoming magnificence. Senate and people poured forth to meet him. The games which he exhibited in the amphitheatre were on a scale of surpassing magnificence. The wild beasts, especially those from Africa, amazed and delighted the mob, many of whom had seen no such creatures before. Even Symmachus[1] the Byzantine, who was present at the time in Rome on an embassy from the Eastern Emperor, was obliged to confess his stupefied admiration of the scene. When his sojourn in Rome was ended, Eutharic returned to Ravenna, and there exhibited the same shows, with even greater magnificence, in the presence of his father-in-law[2].

Her marriage to Eutharic.

515.

519.

Eutharic's Consulship.

Of the prince thus romantically brought into the family of Theodoric we know very little, but that little makes us believe that he might have been found a useful counterpoise to the Romanising tendencies of Amalasuntha. The Anonymus Valesii, in the extract before quoted, calls him 'a man of harsh disposition

His character.

[1] Not the father-in-law of Boethius.

[2] The account of Eutharic's marriage comes from Jordanes (De Reb. Get. 58), that of his pageant from Cassiodorus, who ends his Chronicle at this point.

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and an enemy to the Catholic faith[1].' This perhaps means no more than that he stood firmly by the customs of his Arian forefathers, and was not inclined to bandy compliments with the priests and prefects whom he found standing round the throne of his father-in-law. But, whatever were his good or bad qualities, he died, before the death of Theodoric gave him an opportunity of making his mark on history[2]. Amalasuntha was thus left a widow, with a son and a daughter, Athalaric and Matasuentha, the former of whom was born about 516[3].

His early death.

From the family of Theodoric we return to the description of his ministers and friends. The elder Cassiodorus seems to have retired from office soon after his son had entered public life, and to have spent the rest of his years in the ancestral home in Bruttii, which was dear to four generations of Cassiodori. For some years the great office of Praetorian Prefect was administered by Faustus, to whom a large number of letters in the Variarum are addressed. An act of oppression, however, against a neighbour in the country alienated from him the favour of the just Theodoric and caused his downfall. A certain Castorius, who seems to have got into debt, perhaps into other kinds of trouble, had his farm unjustly wrested from him by the all-powerful Prefect. On making his complaint to the King and proving the

Faustus, Praetorian Prefect.

[1] 'Nimio asper et contra fidem catholicam inimicus.'

[2] I think the precise date of Eutharic's death is not recorded.

[3] Jordanes, who is a better authority here than Procopius, says that Athalaric was 'infantem vix decennem' at the death of his grandfather in 526. Procopius makes him eight years old at that time.

justice of his cause, he obtained a decree for the restitution of his own farm and the addition of another, of equal value, from the lands of the wrong-doer. 'Grimoda the Saio' and 'Ferrocinctus the Apparitor,' apparently one Goth and one Roman officer, were charged with the execution of this decree, which further declared that if 'that well-known schemer' should attempt anything further against Castorius he should be punished with a fine of fifty pounds of gold (£2000). With some allowable complacency Theodoric was hereupon made by his quaestor to exclaim, 'Lo a deed which may henceforward curb all overweening functionaries! A Praetorian Prefect is not allowed to triumph in the spoliation of the lowly, and on the cry of the miserable his power of hurting them is taken from him at a blow.'

His fall.

The Illustrious Faustus received leave of absence from the sacred walls of Rome for four months: and it may be doubted whether, when he returned thither, he any longer wore the purple robes of the Praetorian Prefect[1].

Invitation to the elder Cassiodorus.

Soon after this signal display of the King's justice an invitation was sent to the elder Cassiodorus, inviting him, in very flattering terms, to return to Court[2], where probably he would have been asked to re-assume the great office which he had previously held. Apparently, however, the hill of Squillace had greater

[1] Variarum, iii. 20, 21. Some later letters are addressed to him as Prefect, but it is unsafe to draw a conclusion from this, as the order of the collection is evidently not strictly chronological.

[2] Variarum, iii. 28. In this letter Theodoric thus alludes to the fall of Faustus: 'Nam qui alterum reprimere conati sumus, te etiam palatio teste laudavimus.'

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charms for him than the palace of Ravenna. We have no evidence that he again took any active part in public affairs.

Artemidorus, the King's friend.

A pleasing contrast to the rapacious and intriguing Faustus was afforded by one who had been faithful through good and evil fortune, the King's friend *Artemidorus*. This man, one of the nobles of Byzantium, a friend and relation of the Emperor Zeno, had been strangely attracted by the young barbarian, to whom he was sent as ambassador, on the eve of his march into Epirus[1]. He left, for his sake, the splendid career which awaited him in the Eastern Empire, followed him through all his campaigns, and sat, an ever-welcome and genial guest, at the royal table. Not aspiring to high dignity, nor desirous to burden himself with the cares of State, he found for several years sufficient occupation for his artistic, pleasure-loving nature, in arranging the great shows of the circus for the citizens of Ravenna. At length, however (in 509), Theodoric persuaded him to undertake the weightier charge of Prefect of the City, and sent him in that capacity to Rome to govern the capital and preside over the Senate. The light-hearted Byzantine seems to have discharged the duties of this serious office more creditably than might have been expected.

Count Tulum.

Very different from this brilliant, joyous Greek was the other close friend of Theodoric, the rugged Gothic soldier *Tulum*. Sprung from one of the noblest Gothic families, he mounted guard as a stripling in the King's antechamber. His first experience in war was earned
504. in the campaign of Sirmium[2], and here he showed such vigour and courage, and such a comprehension

[1] See p. 93.

[2] Described in chapter x.

of the art of war, as procured for him in early manhood the place of chief military counsellor to Theodoric. A marriage with a princess of Amal blood[1] still further consolidated his position. He was admitted to the friendly conversation of the King in his moments of least reserve, and, surest mark of friendship, often dared to uphold against his master the policy which he deemed best for that master's interests. In the Gaulish campaign of 509[2], in the campaign, or rather the armed neutrality, of 524[2], he was again conspicuous. Returning from the last by sea he suffered shipwreck, probably somewhere on the coast of Tuscany. The ship and crew were swallowed up by the waves. Tulum, with his only child, took to an open boat, and he had to depend on his own strength and skill to save them both by rowing. Theodoric, who was awaiting his arrival, saw with agony the imminent danger of his friend. The aged monarch would fain have rushed into the waves to rescue him, but, to his delight, Tulum battled successfully with the billows, and soon leaping ashore received his master's affectionate embrace[3].

We may perhaps conjecture that at the close of Theodoric's reign Tulum and Cassiodorus stood in friendly rivalry, the one at the head of the Gothic, the other at the head of the Roman party, among the nobles who were loyal to the new dynasty.

Symmachus and Boethius.

Of two other names by which the Court of Theodoric was rendered illustrious, Symmachus the orator and historian, with his son-in-law Boethius, the Marquis

[1] Her name and degree of relationship to Theodoric are not recorded.

[2] See chapter ix.

[3] Cass. Var. viii. 10.

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of Worcester of his age, it will be well to speak later on, when we have to discuss the melancholy history of their end. Enough to say here that, during the greater part of this period, they appear to have been on friendly terms with the King, though not zealously and continuously engaged in his service like Cassiodorus and Liberius.

Theodoric's residence at Ravenna.

The usual residence of Theodoric was Ravenna, with which city his name is linked as inseparably as those of Honorius or Placidia. The letters of Cassiodorus show his zeal for the architectural enrichment of this capital. Square blocks of stone were to be brought from Faenza, marble pillars to be transported from the palace on the Pincian Hill: the most skilful artists in mosaic were invited from Rome, to execute some of those very works which we still wonder at in the basilicas and baptisteries of the city by the Ronco.

His chief buildings there.

The chief memorials of his reign which Theodoric has left at Ravenna are a church, a palace, and a tomb. Of the last it will be the fitting time to speak when the great Amal is carried thither for burial.

Church of S. Martino (now S. Apollinare Nuovo).

The marvellous basilica which now bears the name of S. Apollinare Nuovo[1] was originally dedicated to St. Martin, and from its beautiful gold-inlaid roof received the title *S. Martinus in Caelo Aureo.* An inscription under the windows of the tribune, still visible in the ninth century, recorded that King Theodoric had built that church from its foundations in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ[2]. Notwith-

[1] Otherwise called S. Apollinare dentro le Mura, to distinguish it from S. Apollinare in Classe.

[2] 'Theodericus rex hanc ecclesiam a fundamentis in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi fecit' (Agnelli Liber Pontificalis, § 86, p. 335, ed. 1878).

standing the words of the ecclesiastical biographer, who ascribes the work to an orthodox bishop, Agnellus, it is difficult not to believe that to Theodoric's order are due those great pictures in mosaic which give the church its peculiar glory. On the opposite sides of the nave, high attics above the colonnades are lined with two long processions. On the north wall, the virgin martyrs of the Church proceed from the city of Classis, each one bearing her crown of martyrdom in her hand, to offer it to the infant Christ, who sits on Mary's lap, attended by four angels. Between the virgin martyrs and the angels intervene the three wise men from the East, who, with crowns on their heads, run forward with reverent haste to present their offerings to the holy Child. The star glows above them in the firmament. On the south wall a corresponding procession of martyred men, also bearing crowns in their hands, moves from the palace at Ravenna onwards to the Christ in glory, who sits upon His judgment-seat and is also guarded by four angels. The dignity of both groups is their most striking characteristic. Not all the quaint stiffness of the mosaic can veil the expression of solemn sadness in the faces of the martyrs, who look like men who have come out of great tribulation and have not yet seen the face of Him for whom they suffered. Nor does the same deficiency in the mode of representation prevent our seeing the look of radiant triumph on the faces of the virgins. Here are Agnes with her lamb, the child-martyr Eulalia of Merida, Lucia of Syracuse, Agatha of Catana, all the most celebrated maidens who suffered for the faith in the terrible days of Diocletian. No wrinkled and faded convent-dwellers are

Its mosaic

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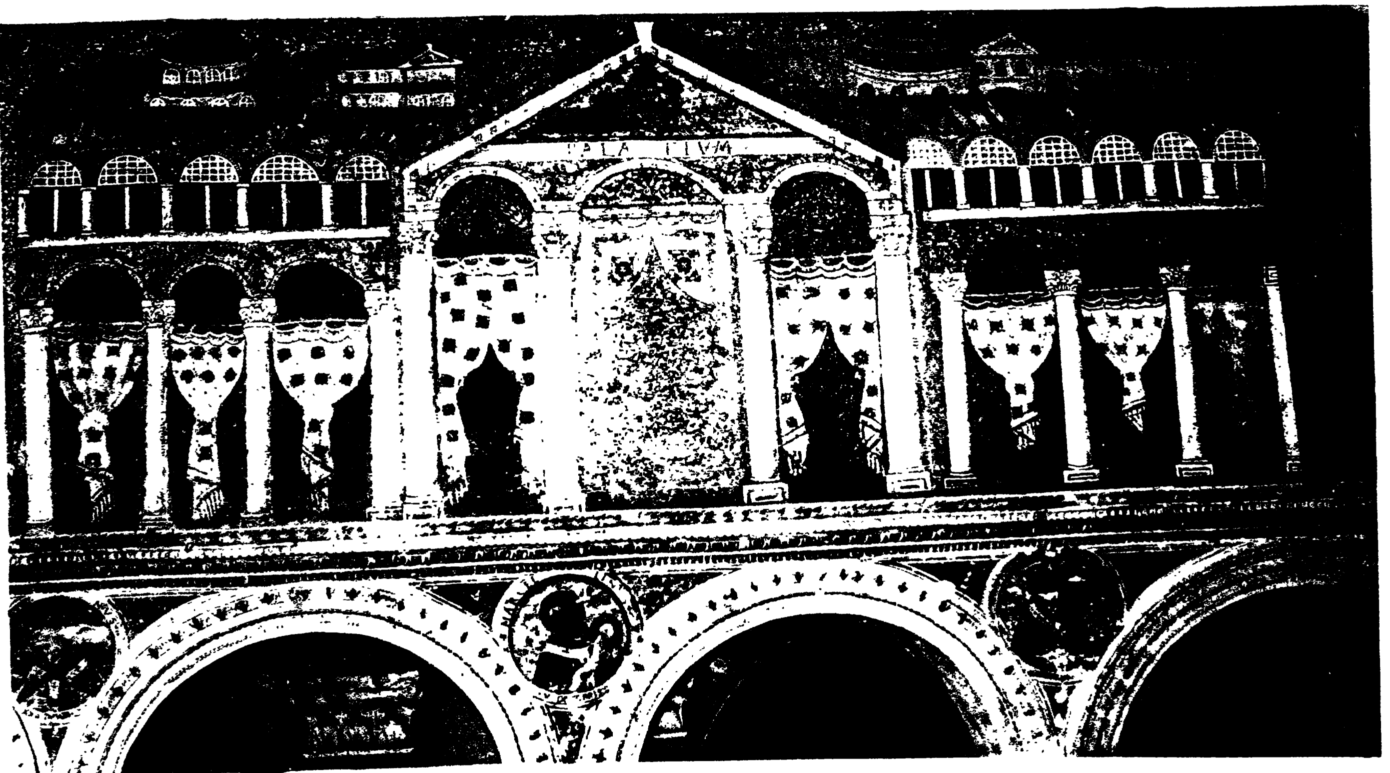
these. Fresh, young, and beautiful, apparelled like the daughters of a king, they move on with a smile of triumph upon their lips to see the wondrous Child for whose sake they, scarcely yet emerged from childhood, gave up their tender bodies to torture and to death[1].

Representations of Classis

Besides the human interest of these figures, there is the local interest derived from the fact that we have here contemporary views of the Ravenna of the sixth century. Classis is represented as a walled city, with colonnades, domes and pediments. Hard by, three ships, one with sails fully spread, the others under bare pôles, are entering the narrow lighthouse-guarded passage from the sea. The palace of Theodoric, as represented on the other side, consists of four tall Corinthian columns with arches springing from their capitals, a pediment above, and in a horizontal space of white the word PALATIVM. On one side of this, the main entrance, is a long low colonnade with an upper storey over it. The objects which most catch the stranger's eye are the curtains between the pillars. Looped up half-way, and with large square patches of purple upon them, they have a singularly modern

and the Palace.

[1] Several other churches were built at Ravenna in the time of Theodoric, chiefly no doubt for the Arian worship. One, erected by Eutharic in 518 and dedicated to S. Andrea dei Goti, was destroyed by the Venetians to construct with the stones the fortress of Brancaleone. The church of Santo Spirito (originally dedicated to St. Theodore), and the neighbouring S. Maria in Cosmedin, which is still called the Arian Baptistery, are among the few ecclesiastical relics of the Arian rule. The baptistery is of octagonal form. On the roof are represented the Apostles, in a standing position: in a circular medallion in the middle, the Baptism of Christ. The Saviour is depicted as a young man, beardless. Over against John the Baptist is the figure of an old man, seated, supposed to represent the river Jordan.



PALACE OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA.

FROM A MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF S. APOLLINARE NUOVO.

aspect, but are no doubt a pretty faithful representation of the veil which guarded the privacy both of the Eastern Emperor and the Gothic King.

Theodoric's Palace.

The palace itself, as we learn from local records, occupied a large space on the eastern side of the town[1]. It adjoined the beautiful church of S. Martinus in Caelo Aureo, which was perhaps used as a royal chapel. Only one fragment of it, but one of pretty well-ascertained genuineness, exists to the present day. It is a high wall, built of the square brick-tiles with which we are so familiar in Roman work, and with eight marble pillars in the upper part supporting nine arched recesses, one of them of considerable width. It is the mere shell of a ruin: the house behind it is entirely modern. A porphyry vase, or rather high trough, let into the lower part of the wall used to be shown as the former coffin of Theodoric, but this notion is now generally abandoned, and the prevalent idea seems to be that it was once a bath. The palace we are told was surrounded with colonnades, and had many dining apartments (*triclinia*) within it[2]. We learn from the Anonymus Valesii that this edifice, which no doubt took many years to build, was completed but not 'dedicated,' at the time of Theodoric's death.

Here then, on the eastern side of his capital, dwelt for more than thirty years the great Ostrogoth, looking forth towards the dark Pineta where he had had that

[1] It stretched, says C. Ricci (the best authority on the antiquities of Ravenna), from the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista to the Strada di Porta Alberoni, and from S. Apollinare Nuovo to the city walls. It thus probably included a corner of the side of the modern railway station.

[2] Ricci (Ravenna, p. 139), quoting Agnellus.

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terrible night of battle with Odovacar, and seeing, it may be, from some high tower in his palace, the blue rim of the Hadriatic. Beyond that sea, but of course invisible, lay his own fair province of Dalmatia; beyond that again those wasted plains of Moesia, where he had wandered so often, the fugitive lord of a brigand people.

His Statues.

Statues in abundance were reared in his honour, at Rome, at Ravenna, at Ticinum, in all the chief cities of Italy. We hear of one statue made by Boethius with so much art that it ever turned towards the sun, and hence was called Regisol; but this is probably a mere legend of the Middle Ages[1]. In another group (apparently a colossal picture in mosaic), erected on a pinnacle of his palace, and conspicuous to mariners from afar, Theodoric, grasping shield and spear and clothed in a coat of mail, sat on a brazen horse covered over with gold. The two cities Rome and Ravenna completed the group. Rome was apparently standing, guarding him in calm dignity, with shield and spear; while Ravenna seemed gliding rapidly forward to meet her lord, her right foot passing over the sea and her left resting on the land. There was also an equestrian statue of Theodoric, the horse which he bestrode having been originally intended to support the Emperor Zeno. Both horse and rider, Charles the Great, after his coronation in Rome, carried across the Alps to Aix-la-Chapelle, declaring that he had seen nothing like them in his whole realm of Francia[2].

[1] Rubeus (Historiae Ravennates, p. 127) tells this curious story, but does not give his authority.

[2] Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis, § 94 (S. Peter Senior).

Theodoric at Pavia and Verona.

Pavia and Verona were also places honoured with the occasional residence of Theodoric. At both he built a palace and public baths. Of neither of these two palaces is any remnant now to be seen. A grim square fortress of the fifteenth century, much injured by the French Republicans, stands (it is believed) on the site of Theodoric's palace at Pavia. So too at Verona: the palace, of which there were still some noble remains incorporated into the castle of the Viscontis, was blown up by the French in 1801, and an absolutely modern building stands upon its site. This, like the castle at Pavia and so many buildings in Italy of great historic name, is now occupied as a barrack.

It seems probable that Theodoric's residence at both these places depended on the state of Transalpine politics. When the tribes of the Middle Danube were moving suspiciously to and fro, and the vulnerable point by the Brenner Pass needed to be especially guarded, he fixed his quarters at Verona[1]. When Gaul menaced greater danger, then he removed to Ticinum. It was apparently the fact that Verona was his coign of vantage, from whence he watched the German barbarians, which obtained for him from their minstrels the title of *Dietrich of Bern*. Thus strangely travestied, he was swept within the wide current of the legends relating to Attila, and hence it is that the really grandest figure in the history of the migration of the peoples appears in the Nibelungen Lied, not as a great king and conqueror on his own account, but only as a faithful squire of the terrible Hunnish king

Dietrich of Bern.

[1] Anon. Valesii, 81: 'Theoderico Veronae consistente *propter metum gentium*.'

BOOK IV. CH. 8. whose empire had in fact crumbled into dust before the birth of Theodoric[1].

[1] The interesting but difficult subject of the Theodoric of Saga is one which I prefer not to enter upon, not having the requisite materials for its satisfactory treatment. I observe that Maffei (Verona Illustrata, 387) says that most of the German writers, even of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, call Theodoric by the surname *Veronensis.*

NOTE E. The Edictum Theodorici Regis.

The literary history of this Edict is rather curious. It was printed in Nivellius' edition of the works of Cassiodorus (Paris, 1579), and, according to a letter inserted in that volume, was copied from a MS. supplied to the publisher by Peter Pithoeus (Pierre Pithou), a well-known scholar of that day. Another MS. was also forwarded to the same publisher by Edouard Molé. *Both these MSS. have since disappeared*, and only the printed transcripts in Nivellius' book and in Lindenbrog's 'Codex Legum Antiquarum' (Frankfurt, 1607) remain, as evidences that they ever existed. In these circumstances, some critics have hinted at a possible forgery; but the Edictum corresponds far too closely with the facts of Theodoric's position, and the knowledge of those facts by the scholars of the seventeenth century was far too slight, to make such a suspicion reasonable. Every student knows that some MSS., which were in existence at the time of the revival of letters, have since disappeared in an unaccountable way. NOTE E.

As for the date of the Edictum, since the theory that it *must* have been promulgated in 500 was abandoned, some enquirers have tried to prove that it must have been composed after 506, thinking that it shows signs of copying from the Breviarium Alarici promulgated in that year by Alaric II, the Visigothic king, for his Roman subjects. But, as Dahn very clearly shows, there is no such close correspondence between the two codes as this theory alleges, and if there had been, it was more likely that Alaric should copy from Theodoric than *vice versa*.

Upon the whole I think that Dahn's arguments, while good against the *assertion* that the Edict was promulgated in 500, during Theodoric's visit to Rome, contain nothing against the *conjecture* that such was the fact, a conjecture which seems to me eminently probable and reasonable.

NOTE E. Dahn has subjected the text of the Edictum, which he has published in the fourth section of his 'Könige der Germanen,' to a very searching, almost microscopical, examination, in order to ascertain of what elements it is composed; and finds that it comes almost exclusively from Roman sources, especially the Theodosian Code and the Sentences of Paulus. In some cases Theodoric has modified the provisions of the Roman law, generally in the direction of greater mildness, but not always. Thus in § 107 he ordains that the stirrer-up of sedition, in the people or the army, shall be burnt, a provision unknown to the *Lex Julia Majestatis*. By § 32, the right of bequeathing property by will, a right unknown to the ancient Germans, is conceded, in remarkable terms, to the barbarians who were serving in the army; yet is this right not limited to the time of their actual residence in camp, but may be exercised also at home: 'Barbaris, quos certum est reipublicae militare, quomodo voluerint, faciendi damus licentiam testamenti, sive domi, sive in castris fuerint constituti.'

The Edict, as will be seen from the analysis of its contents given below, is almost entirely devoid of methodical arrangement. Dahn conjectures that it never professed to be an exhaustive code, but was a mere collection of cases, chiefly between Barbarians and Romans, which had arisen for decision since the accession of Theodoric, the sections of the code being arranged pretty nearly in the same order in which the cases had occurred, though a slight attempt to group them in order of subject is observable. This may perhaps account for the large proportion of sections of the Edict which relate to the law of Master and Slave. In the circumstances of the Gothic settlement in Italy, the slaves, speaking the same language as the provincials, yet belonging many of them to the new barbarian lords, might easily be a frequent source of bickerings.

It will be well to translate the Prologue and Epilogue, as these throw considerable light on the conditions out of which the necessity for the Edict arose.

Prologus.

'Many complaints have reached our ears that some persons in the provinces trample the precepts of the laws under foot. And though no one can possibly claim the authority of the laws to

defend any unjust deed, yet we, having a regard to the quiet of the community and having before our eyes those events which may frequently occur, do, in order to terminate cases of this kind, decree these presents: in order that reverence for public right being kept intact, and the laws being observed with the utmost devotion by all; both Barbarians and Romans may know from the present edicts what course they ought to pursue in respect of the several articles here set forth.'

Then follows the Edictum in 154 sections.

Epilogus.

'These things, as far as our occupations would allow of our attending to them, or as they occurred at the moment to our mind, we have ordered for the common benefit of all, whether Barbarians or Romans, and do desire that the devotion of all, whether Barbarians or Romans, will keep them inviolate. Those cases which either the brevity of the Edict or our public cares have not allowed us to comprehend in the foregoing, must be terminated when they arise, by the regular course of the laws. Nor let any person, of whatsoever dignity or substance or power or military rank or honour he may be, think that he may in any manner infringe any one of these provisions, which we have collected chiefly (*pro aliqua parte*) out of the *Leges Novellae* and the sanctions (*sanctimonia*) of the old law. And let all commissioners (*cognitores*) and all framers of decisions know that if in anything they shall violate these Edicts, they will be deservedly struck with the penalty of proscription and banishment. But if perchance any influential personage or his procurator or factor (*vice-dominus*) or any farmer of revenues, whether he be a Barbarian or a Roman, shall in any manner of cause not allow these Edicts to be observed, and if the judge who is trying the case shall not be able to hinder and block them, nor to vindicate the law as here laid down, if he has any care for his own safety let him lay aside every suggestion of timidity and at once bring before our notice a full report of the whole case. Only in this way will he himself be absolved from blame: inasmuch as the provisions made for the security of all the provincials ought to be carefully guarded by the zeal of the whole community.'

NOTE E.

ANALYSIS OF THE EDICTUM.

NOTE E.

NOTE F. The Terracina Inscription.

In the Piazza at Terracina stands a large slab with an inscription upon it recording that 'Dominus clarissimus adque inclytus Rex Theodericus, victor ac triumfator, semper Augustus, bono reipublicae natus, custos libertatis, et propagator Romani nominis, domitor gentium' had ordered that nineteen miles (*Decennovium*) of the Appian Way, being the part extending from Trip(ontium) to Terracina, should be cleared of the waters which had flowed together upon it from the marshes on either side. This work, not attempted by any of the preceding sovereigns, has now, by God's favour, with admirable good fortune, been accomplished for the general advantage and the safety of travellers. The nobleman who at the command of the most clement sovereign has diligently laboured (*naviter insudante*) at its performance is Caecina Maurus Basilius Decius, 'vir clarissimus et inlustris, ex-praefectus urbi, ex-praefectus praetorio, ex-consul ordinarius et patricius,' who, to perpetuate the glory of so great a lord, has led the water through many channels not previously existing to the sea, and has restored the land to a degree of dryness unknown to the ancients.

The concession to Decius is contained in Cass. Var. ii. 32. The above inscription is only a copy, but apparently a correct copy, made in the fifteenth century. The original exists in duplicate in a building erected by Pope Pius VI at Mesa (*ad Medias*), half-way between Terracina and Forum Appii.

NOTE G. The two Cassiodori (Father and Son).

There is now really no doubt that the succession of the different members of the family of Cassiodorus is as stated in the

text; but as the reader may find a different theory advanced by some respectable authors, it is as well to state that theory and the reasons advanced in support of it.

Manso (Geschichte des Ostgothischen Reiches, pp. 332–349), following the life of Cassiodorus prefixed to Garet's edition, contends that the third and fourth persons mentioned in our list—whom we may label Patricius and Senator—were in fact one.

According to his view, the author of the Variae was born about 468, filled at twenty the office of *Comes Privatarum* and at twenty-one that of *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* under Odovacar, joined the party of Theodoric, won over the inhabitants of Sicily to his cause, became between 491 and 514 successively Quaestor, Magister Officiorum, Praetorian Prefect, and Patrician, then held certain offices under Athalaric (about which there is no dispute), retired from official life in 538 (at the age of seventy), and died about 563.

The theory that Cassiodorus, at so early an age as twenty or twenty-one, filled the high offices of *Comes Privatarum* and *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* is, though not impossible, somewhat improbable. But the whole argument in favour of it rests on the belief that the Cassiodorus addressed in Variarum i. 3 is Cassiodorus the writer of the letter. He might have been, for Cassiodorus, writing on behalf of Athalaric, does undoubtedly (in Variarum, ix. 24) address himself in terms of high commendation. But it is quite certain that the person addressed in Variarum i. 3 is not the writer, but the writer's father. As if in order to guard against the possibility of such a confusion, the younger Cassiodorus always speaks of himself as Senator. The letters i. 3 and i. 4 are evidently descriptive of a statesman retiring from his official career, not of one just entering on its busiest period. In iii. 28 we have an invitation to 'Cassiodorus Vir Illustris et Patricius' to visit the Court. How do the supporters of Manso's theory suppose that this was written, by Cassiodorus to himself, at the command of a king from whom he was separated by the whole length of Italy? Again, in i. 26 it is ordered that the Church of Vercelli shall not pay more land-tax than she did 'in the time of the Magnificent Cassiodorus the Patrician, a man of pure faith and tried integrity.' Is that the way in which a man, still in office, speaks of himself? Would

NOTE G. the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (1884) talk of the rate of income-tax 'which was fixed by the Rt. Hon. Hugh Childers, a man of tried integrity?'

More convincing still is the argument derived from the date of the 'Various Letters' themselves. Let any one carefully study the letters included in that collection, endeavouring as far as may be to assign a date to each. (With some there are absolutely no materials for coming to a conclusion on such a point.) With two exceptions he will find that there are none, capable of being dated at all, that do not require a later date than A.D. 500. These two exceptions are the letter to the Emperor Anastasius (i. 1) and that to Luduin (Clovis) king of the Franks (ii. 41).

The first used to be generally connected with the legation either of Faustus (493) or Festus (497) to Constantinople. But, now that the letter is more carefully examined, it is seen that, with its references to *causae iracundiae* and to *contentiones* and its prayer that *sinceritas pacis* may be restored, it is more suited to a time when there had been actually *war* between Italy and the East, and was therefore probably written in 506 or 509. No doubt the reason why it is placed first in the collection is, not its priority of composition, but the exalted rank of the person to whom it is addressed.

The letter to Clovis congratulating him on the victory over the Alamanni does certainly suggest most obviously 496, the date of the victory after which Clovis was baptized. But von Schubert, in his recent monograph, 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken' (Strassburg, 1884), has shown strong grounds for believing that this victory, though important, did not annihilate the independence of the Alamanni, and that another more important victory was gained by Clovis in the early years of the sixth century.

On the whole question then, looking to the intense literary activity of Cassiodorus Senator, from about 501 onwards, we have a right to ask, 'What was this prominent official, who had attained the rank of an Illustris in 480, and had borne such a leading part in the events connected with Theodoric's victory, doing in those years between 493 and 501, and how is it that all that early part of the reign of Theodoric is such a complete blank, if he was then conducting its correspondence?'

The real answer is that Senator was then in no high official position, but was a lad studying rhetoric, perhaps at Syracuse or at Rome.

These are the conclusions to which I, like most of those who have thoroughly examined the subject, was brought by weighing only the internal evidence afforded by the Variae. Upon this comes a piece of external evidence, which, if its genuineness and early date can be maintained,—and there seems no doubt of either,—simply annihilates the theory of Manso. Here is an extract from the *Ordo generis Cassiodoriorum*, from a *libellus* which the author of the Variae addressed to his friend Rufius Petronius Nicomachus [Cethegus]:—

'Cassiodorus Senator vir eruditissimus et multis dignitatibus pollens. Juvenis adeo, dum patris Cassiodori patricii et praefecti praetorii consiliarius fieret, et laudes Theodorichi regis Gothorum facundissime recitasset, ab eo quaestor est factus patricius et consul ordinarius, postmodum dehinc magister officiorum, et praefuisset (?) formulas dictionum quas in duodecim libris ordinavit et Variarum titulum superposuit. Scripsit praecipiente Theodoricho rege historiam Gothicam, originem eorum et loca moresque xii libris annuntians.'

This is from the so-called *Anecdoton Holderi* published and commented upon by Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1877).

After this, unless the authority of the 'libellus' can be upset, there is really nothing more to be said.

The provoking part of the controversy is that the true view was formerly held, but was too lightly abandoned. Tillemont (Histoire des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 625) has the four Cassiodori all right, speaking of 'les exploits militaires [contre Genseric] de l'ancien Cassiodore . . . *qui était bisayeul de* l'autre qui est célèbre par ses écrits.' Gibbon, following Tillemont, says (chap. xxxix. n. 57), 'Two Italians of the name of Cassiodorus, the father and the son, were successively employed in the administration of Theodoric. The son was born in the year 479.' His only mistake is that he fixes the beginning of the Variae some years too late, at 509. Clinton (Fasti Romani, s.a. 493) has the four generations correctly enumerated, though I do not know what authority he has for saying positively, 'Cassiodorus or Cassiodorius is thirteen years of age in 493.' All these authors have the matter correctly stated: but the worthy Manso in his seventh

NOTE G. 'Beylage,' by reviving an obsolete theory that father and son were the same person, has led a number of historians and essayists into error, they all following him like sheep through a hedge, until, as Dean Church says [1], 'there is some confusion between the different Cassiodori.'

[1] Church Quarterly Review, x. 293. n. 1.

CHAPTER IX.

THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH GAUL.

Authorities.

Sources :—

THE Historia Francorum of GREGORY OF TOURS (about 538 to 594); the Chronicle of MARIUS OF AVENTICUM (about 550 to 594); the Letters of AVITUS Bishop of Vienne (who died between 525 and 532); the De Vita Epiphanii of ENNODIUS Bishop of Ticinum (about 473 to 521); the Life of S. CAESARIUS of Arles (who died 542), written by his disciples and included in the Bollandist collection (27 August); and the PASSIO S. SIGISMUNDI by an unknown hand, written probably in the seventh or eighth century, now published by Jahn (in the book mentioned below) free from the interpolations which had been introduced into it.

Guides :—

Binding, 'Geschichte des Burgundisch-Romanischen Königreichs' (Leipzig, 1868). Jahn, 'Geschichte der Burgundionen' (Halle, 1874). Von Schubert, 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken' (Strassburg, 1884).

As the subject of Burgundian history is an intricate one, and lies a little outside of my special work, I have availed myself very freely of Binding's labours, checking him in some places by Jahn, who is a rather severe critic of his performance.

Matrimonial alliances of Theodoric.

THE respite from foreign invasion during the reign of Theodoric was chiefly due to his commanding position at the head of the new Teutonic royalties of Europe. That position was in great measure strengthened

THE MARRIAGES OF THE AMALS.

Erelieva (or Eusebia) = THEUDEMIR, + 474

CHILDERIC, King of the Salian Franks, + 482

THRASAMUND (Transimund), King of the Vandals, + 523 = Amala(g)frida, + 527 (?) = Husband's name unknown.

GUNDOBAD, King of the Burgundians, + 516

Uxor quam habuit ante regnum (Anon. Val. 63) Concubina (Jord. 58) = THEODORIC + 526 = Augoflada (A. V.) or Audefleda (J.)

CLOVIS (Hlodwig or Luduin), + 511

HERMANFRID, King of the Thuringians, + 531 (?) = Amalaberga

Gudelina = THEODAHAD, + 536

GODOMAR, reigned 524–534.

SIGISMUND, King of the Burgundians, + 523 = Theudegotho

ALARIC II, King of the Visigoths, + 507 = Arevagni (A. V.) Ostrogotho (J.)

AMALASUNTHA, + 534 = Eutharic.

A daughter married (apparently as second wife) to AUDOIN King of the Lombards (Procop. de Bell. Gotth. iv. 25).

Amalfrid, Magister Militum under Justinian.

THEODORIC, King of the Franks. = Suavegotta

Segeric, murdered 522.

AMALARIC, King of the Visigoths, + 531.

ATHALARIC, + 534

WITIGIS = MATASUENTHA = Germanus, nephew of Justinian, + 550

Germanus junior.

and consolidated by a system of matrimonial alliances with the chief of the royal families of the barbarians. The somewhat entangled sentences in which they are described by the anonymous authority[1] quoted in the last chapter, deserve therefore a more careful study than we might at first, when repelled by their uncouth form and by the harsh sound of the barbarian names with which they are filled, be disposed to give to them.

'Family compact.'

We see from them that Theodoric was himself the brother-in-law of the king of the Franks and the king of the Vandals, and that the owner of the Visigothic and the heir-apparent of the Burgundian royalty were married to his daughters. Our informant might have gone further, and told us that a niece of Theodoric was married to the king of the Thuringians. Here was a vision of a 'family compact,' binding together all the kingdoms of the West, from the Scheldt to Mount Atlas, in a great confederacy, filling all the new barbarian thrones with the sons, the grandsons, or the nephews of Theodoric, a matrimonial State-system surpassing (may we not say?) anything that Hapsburg or Bourbon ever succeeded in accomplishing, when they sought to make Venus instead of Mars build up their empires. We shall see however that, when it came to the tug of war between one barbarian chief and another, this family compact, like so many others in later days, snapped with the strain. Yet it was not at once a failure; for one generation at least the position of Theodoric, as a kind of patriarch of the kingly clan, was one of grandeur and influence, and did undoubtedly promote the happiness of Europe.

[1] Anonymus Valesii, §§ 63 and 68; see pp. 293–4.

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Relations with the Vandals. 477-484. With the Vandal sovereigns of Carthage his relations were, till near the close of his reign, friendly. Gaiseric's son, Huneric, that fierce and cruel persecutor of the Catholics, had ended his short reign before Theodoric started on his march for Italy. His cousins and successors, Gunthamund and Thrasamund, though still Arians, abated sensibly the rigour of the persecutions at home and pursued a fair and moderate policy abroad. The corsair-state of the fierce adventurer Gaiseric had lost something of its lawless vigour. It was passing into the rank of regular monarchies, and becoming flaccid and respectable. Sicily, which had been subjected for many years to their depredations, and then under Odovacar had paid a tribute something like our own Danegeld as the price of quietness, was now free both from invasion and from tribute[1]. On the death of his first wife (possibly soon after 500) Thrasamund married Amalafrida, the widowed sister of the Ostrogothic king. A thousand Gothic nobles with five thousand mounted servants followed Amalafrida to her African home, and the fortress of Lilybæum (*Marsala*), at the extreme western corner of Sicily, was, with more generosity perhaps than statesmanlike prudence, handed over to Thrasamund as the dowry of his elderly bride.

484-496. 496-523.

Thrasamund marries Amalafrida.

With two of the three great powers that still divided Gaul, the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks, Theodoric's relations were more varied and less uniformly amicable.

The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain. The Visigoths now held, not only the fair quadrant of France between the Loire and the Pyrenees, but

[1] This is the conclusion fairly drawn by Papencordt (p. 119) from the language of Cassiodorus, Ennodius, and Theophanes.

also the greater part of Provence, besides the whole of Spain, except the north-western angle, which was still occupied by an independent Suevic monarchy. This powerful people, mindful of the old 'brotherly covenant,' was friendly to the Ostrogothic ruler of Italy, as it had been to its Ostrogothic invader. Their king Alaric II, the son-in-law of Theodoric, had mounted the throne in the year 485. He was a man of whom we hear no unfavourable testimony, but who seems not to have possessed the harsh energy of his father Euric, far less the dash and originality of his mighty namesake Alaric the Great.

Alaric II, 485–507.

The Burgundians.

Between the dominions of Theodoric and his Visigothic son-in-law lay the goodly land which owned the sway of the Burgundians. Their domain, considerably more extensive than when we last viewed it on the eve of Attila's invasion [1], now included the later provinces of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and Dauphiné, besides Savoy and the greater part of Switzerland—in fact the whole of the valleys of the Saone and the Rhone, save that for the last hundred miles of its course the Visigoths barred them from the right bank and from the mouths of the latter river.

King Gundobad.

Gundobad, whom we met with twenty-one years ago in Rome [2] hanging on to the fortunes of his uncle Ricimer, wearing the robe of the Patrician, and even creating an emperor of his own, the insignificant Glycerius, returned, as we then saw, to his own country in 474, probably on the death of his father Gundiok, leaving his hapless client-emperor in the lurch. According to the frequent usage of these Teutonic nations, the kingdom of Gundiok was divided between

[1] Vol. ii. p. 110.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 477.

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His brothers Godegisel and Hilperik.

his four sons; but these four had now been reduced by death to two, Gundobad and Godegisel. Gundobad, the firstborn and the more powerful, ruled at Lyons and Vienne, while Godegisel held his court at Geneva.

But the family of one of the dead brothers was destined to exert a more powerful influence over the fortunes of Gaul than either of the surviving kings. Hilperik, whose capital had been Lyons, and who died apparently between 480 and 490, had, as some authors conjecture[1], married a wife Caretene, whose virtues and whose Catholic orthodoxy are recorded in an inscription still to be seen in her husband's capital. Caretene, whose fervour of fasting and whose gentle persuasive influence on her harsh husband are alluded to in the letters of Sidonius[2], as well as in this inscription, was allowed by her Arian husband to bring up her children—they were only daughters—in the Catholic faith which she herself professed. One of

[1] This is the conjecture of Binding (p. 119) and of some others. Jahn (ii. 37) argues strongly that Caretene was the wife of Gundobad himself. It seems to me to be but guess against guess: but Binding's guess is slightly more probable, because the inscription certainly suggests the idea of a widow, and Gundobad undoubtedly lived ten years after the death of Caretene. The question is only important in its bearing on the cruelties alleged to have been practised by Gundobad on the family of Hilperik.

[2] In writing to Patiens, vi. 12, he says: 'Omitto te . . . sic abstemium judicari ut constet indesinenter . . . *reginam laudare jejunia*;' to Thaumastus, v. 7, after describing the danger of his brother Apollinaris from the anger of 'magister militum Chilpericus victoriosissimus vir' (v. 6), he adds: 'Sane, quod principaliter medetur afflictis, *temperat Lucumonem nostrum Tanaquil sua*, et aures mariti virosa susurrorum faece completas . . . eruderat: . . . si modo quamdiu praesens potestas Lugdunensem Germaniam regit, nostrum suumque *Germanicum praesens Agrippina moderetur.*'

these daughters, Hrothchilde, whose name history has softened into Clotilda, was dwelling, as an orphan ward, at the court of her uncle Gundobad, when there came thither on business of State frequent embassies from Clovis king of the Franks. The ambassadors on their return home used to praise to their master the grace and accomplishments of the young princess. He sent to ask for her hand, which, in the year 492 or 493, was accorded, not perhaps very willingly, by the Burgundian king.

His daughter Clotilda.

Clotilda determines to convert her husband to Catholicism.

This marriage of the king of the Franks (whether we call him Chlodovech, Hlodwig, Luduin, Louis, or Clovis) with the young Catholic orphan of the house of Hilperik of Burgundy prepared the way for the Frankish Empire, and for events which changed the face of Europe. For she, mindful of the training received from the devout Caretene, and hostile to the Arian faith of her father and uncles, determined to win over her heathen husband, not merely to Christianity, as the other Teuton conquerors understood it, but to orthodoxy. Later ages have believed that she entered the palace of Clovis filled with thoughts of terrible revenge against Gundobad and his family. When, a generation later, her own sons inflicted terrible calamities on the royal house of Burgundy, the idea perhaps occurred to some courtly bard of representing these cruelties as mere retaliation for the atrocities which *their* mother's father and his house had suffered at the hands of Gundobad. Accordingly, Hilperik was alleged to have been slain with the sword; his wife, with a stone tied round her neck, to have been thrown into the water; his two daughters to have been banished; his sons (of whose very exist-

Alleged cruelties of Gundobad to her family.

BOOK IV. CH. 9. ence there is no other trace) to have met death from the hands of the same cruel relative. There is some reason to think that all this, though set forth[1] in the pages of Gregory of Tours, who lived but a century after the death of Hilperik, is mere untrustworthy legend. If Caretene was really the wife of Hilperik, we see from the epitaph at Lyons that she survived him at least fifteen years, dying in the year 506. Moreover a letter to Gundobad from Avitus, the Catholic bishop of Vienne, no flatterer of the king, but rather, if the anachronism may be permitted, leader of the Constitutional Opposition in the Burgundian realm, while condoling with his sovereign on the death of a daughter, refers to his earlier domestic afflictions, and reminds him with what 'ineffable piety' he had mourned the deaths of his brothers [Hilperik and Godomar[2]]. It seems in the highest degree unlikely that such a letter could have been addressed by its author to the avowed murderer of Hilperik[3].

[1] Except so far as the two sons are concerned. They do not appear till a century later, in Fredegarius.

[2] The words of Avitus (Ep. v.) are, 'Flebatis quondam pietate ineffabili funera germanorum, sequebatur fletum publicum universitatis afflictio.' I take the quotation and the whole argument for the innocence of Gundobad from Binding (Burgund.-Roman. Königreich, i. 114–119). It will be seen that the identification of Caretene with the widow of Hilperik is to some extent conjectural, but I think his arguments are conclusive in its favour.

[3] Jahn (i. 548, and Introduction, p. v.) maintains the truth of Gregory's story, and accuses Binding of 'Hypercritik' for rejecting it. There is too little evidence on either side to enable us to come to a satisfactory conclusion, but to me Gregory's story seems in the highest degree legendary and improbable. The precise correspondence between the cruelties practised *upon* Clotilda's family and those practised *by* her sons looks suspicious. And then, how intensely improbable that Clotilda should nurse her revenge for

When Clovis married Clotilda he was aged twenty-seven, and had been reigning for twelve years. Seven years before, he had by his overthrow of the Roman kinglet Syagrius[1] advanced from Flanders into the valley of the Seine; and, at the accession of Theodoric, we must probably think of his dominions as touching the Visigothic kingdom at the Loire, and the Burgundian kingdom on the Catalaunian plains, comprising in fact already one third, but not the fairest nor the richest third, of Gaul. This portentous growth of the Frankish power in twelve years was but an augury of the yet mightier extensions which should take place when the prayers of the Catholic Clotilda should be accomplished, and her husband should accept the faith of the great mass of the Roman provincials.

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Birth of Clovis, 466. Accession, 481. Defeat of Syagrius, 486. Marriage, 493 (?).

The statesmanlike vision of Theodoric saw the necessity of including the Frankish lord of Soissons in his system of family alliances. At the very outset of his reign[2] he sought for and obtained the hand of Audefleda, the sister of Clovis, who bore him one daughter,

Theodoric seeks the sister of Clovis in marriage.

thirty-three years, to let it fall at last, not on the actual murderer Gundobad, but on his—as far as she was concerned—innocent son! How many opportunities had she, especially in 500, to behold the vengeance, which her pious soul is represented as thirsting for, executed upon the real enemy, by the husband to whom her wish was law! Why does she let all these slip, and allow the murderer himself to sink into a quiet grave, only, in her own old age, to wreak a diabolical revenge on his children and grandchildren? In the interests of Clotilda's saintship (and sanity) it is certainly to be desired that Gregory's story should be, what I believe it to be, mere ecclesiastical romancing.

[1] Son of Aegidius, and the German-speaking correspondent of Sidonius (see vol. ii. pp. 437 and 358).

[2] As Amalasuntha was married to Eutharic in 515, it is improbable that the marriage of which she was the issue was much, if at all, later than 495.

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his only legitimate child Amalasuntha[1]. Providence, as we have seen, denied him a son, while a whole clan of martial sons and grandsons filled the palace of the Frankish king. This difference had much to do with the very different duration of the political systems reared by the two kings.

Course pursued by Theodoric towards the adherents of Odovacar.

The course of our narrative takes us back for a short time to consider the internal affairs of Italy after Odovacar's death. We are told by one chronicler that 'all his army wherever they could be found, and all his race, perished with him[2];' by another, that 'all his colleagues who ministered to the defence of the kingdom were put to death[3].' These statements are almost certainly exaggerated, if not altogether untrue. Certainly the after-life of Theodoric shows that he was not a man given to needless bloodshed. But he did issue one edict, an edict which he was wise enough to be persuaded to cancel, and which shows, it must be admitted, that the fierce bitterness of the struggle had not yet entirely faded from his mind.

Disqualifying edict for all

This edict was to the effect, that only those among the Roman population who could prove that they had

[1] The Anonymus Valesii makes the mother of the other two daughters of Theodoric a wife who died before his accession to the throne. Jordanes, probably copying Cassiodorus, calls them 'naturales ex concubina, quas genuisset adhuc in Moesia filias, unam nomine Thiudigoto et aliam Ostrogotho.' Compare Freeman's note on 'Danish Marriages' (Norman Conquest, i. 624), and the remarks made as to the similar marriage of Theodoric's father. As with the Scandinavians, so with the Goths, notwithstanding their generally high moral tone, there seems to have been a certain vagueness in their practice as to the solemnisation of marriage-rites.

[2] Anonymus Valesii.

[3] Cont. Prosperi.

been loyal to the cause of Theodoric should enjoy the full rights of citizens. His recent opponents, even had their services been rendered compulsorily to Odovacar, lost the power of disposing of their property by will and of bearing evidence in courts of justice [1]. A most monstrous enactment, and one which showed that its author was still more familiar with the simple pastoral life led by his people in the plains of Moesia, than with the necessities of an old and complex civilisation, in which such a party-measure as this could not fail to work frightful injustice. The good Epiphanius, who had been busily engaged in repairing the ravages of war, and inviting the best of the citizens of surrounding towns to settle at Ticinum, heard the general lamentation of Italy, and was besought to make himself its exponent at the Court of Theodoric. He consented, on condition that Laurentius of Milan would share the burden with him. The two bishops journeyed together to Ravenna, and were received with all veneration by the King.

Roman citizens who had not taken the side of Theodoric.

Epiphanius and Laurentius undertake a mission to the King.

And here let us observe for a moment, that we have in this embassy an excellent illustration of the way in which barbaric conquest forced the Church onwards in the path of temporal dominion. The edict against the adherents of Odovacar was a purely civil edict. Whether wise or foolish, it in no way specially concerned the Church, nor trenched upon ecclesiastical privilege. Neither was it, like the revenge wreaked by Theodosius on the citizens of Thessalonica, an

The Barbarians unconsciously helped the Church.

[1] 'Ut illis tantum Romanae libertatis jus tribueret, quos partibus ipsius fides examinata junxisset: illos vero quos aliqua necessitas diviserat, ab omni jussit et testandi et ordinationum suarum ac voluntatum licentia submoveri' (Ennodius, Vita Epiphanii, p. 226, ed. Migne).

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outrage upon humanity, a gross and obvious breach of the law of God. It was a very harsh and ill-conceived measure, but it related to matters which were entirely within the domain of the civil governor; and as such, we cannot imagine that either Ambrose or Eusebius would have felt himself entitled to remonstrate against it, nor that Theodosius or Constantine would have tolerated such an interference. Now, however, that a Barbarian, instead of a Roman, sits in the seat of power, the moderating influence of the ecclesiastic in purely political matters is eagerly invoked by the governed, and not repelled by the governor.

Epiphanius' speech.

Epiphanius, being invited to state his case, congratulated 'the most unconquered prince' on the success which had crowned his arms. He reminded Theodoric of the promises which he had made to the Almighty when, under the walls of Ticinum, he had been attacked by the bands of the enemy, who greatly exceeded his own troops in number, but whom by heavenly aid he had then been enabled to overcome. By heavenly aid, for the very air seemed to serve his purposes. When Theodoric required serene weather for his operations, they were over-arched by an unclouded sky; when rain would help him more effectually, torrents fell. Now let him profit by the example of his predecessor. Odovacar fell because he ruled unrighteously. Might the present King—such was the prayer of Liguria—confirm to innocent men the blessings of the laws, even at the risk of some, who little deserved it, obtaining his protection. 'To forgive sins is heavenly; to punish is an earthly thing.'

The Bishop was silent and the 'most eminent King' began to speak. When he opened his lips every heart

was wrung with a fearful anxiety to know what would be his decision.

Theodoric's reply.

'Oh, venerable Bishop!' he said, 'though your merits command my respect, and your many kindnesses to me in the time of confusion deserve my gratitude, yet the hard necessities of reigning make that universal forgiveness which you praise impossible. I have the divine warrant for the position which I here take up. Do we not read of a certain king[1], who, because he neglected to take the destined vengeance on the enemy of his people, was himself rejected by God? That man weakens and brings into contempt the divine judgments who spares his enemy when he is in his power. As for the patience of our Redeemer, of which you speak, that comes after the severity of the law has done its work. The wise surgeon first cuts deep to remove the gangrened flesh, before he applies the healing liniment. By allowing criminals to go unpunished, we exhort the innocent to commit crime.

'Nevertheless, since heaven itself bends to your prayers, the powers of earth must not disregard them. I consent that not a single head shall fall, since you may prevail with God that the minds of the most hardened offenders shall be turned from the perverseness of their way. Some few, however, of the chief incendiaries must be removed from their present dwellings, lest they rekindle the flame of civil discord.'

The letter of amnesty.

Theodoric then ordered the Quaestor Urbicus—a man who, we are told, surpassed Cicero in eloquence and Cato in integrity—to prepare a royal letter[2] embodying these concessions, which of course must

[1] No doubt Saul.

[2] Pragmaticum.

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have included the repeal of the civil disabilities of the vanquished party. The absolute honesty of Urbicus did not prevent him from so wording the decree that even the excepted cases were included in the amnesty, a difference which we must suppose that Theodoric's imperfect knowledge of Latin prevented him from observing.

Theodoric mentions the case of the captive Ligurians.

After the interview was ended, Theodoric called Epiphanius aside to express to him the sorrow with which he beheld the desolate state of Italy after the war, weeds and thorns filling all the fields[1], and especially 'that mother of the human harvest, Liguria, which used to rejoice in her numerous progeny of husbandmen,' now robbed of her children, and lying, through vast spaces of her territory, untouched by the plough, and with her vines trailing in the dust[2]. All this was the work of the Burgundians, who, after the foray mentioned in the preceding chapter, had carried back great numbers of the Ligurians captives across the Alps. Theodoric, however, had gold, and would willingly unlock his stores for their ransoming, if Epiphanius, whose pleading voice none could resist, would himself intercede with Gundobad for their restoration.

[1] 'Vides universa Italiae loca originariis viduata cultoribus. In tristitiam meam segetum ferax spinas atque injussa plantaria campus apportat: et illa mater humanae messis Liguria, cui numerosa agricolarum solebat constare progenies, orbata atque sterilis jejunum cespitem nostris monstrat obtutibus. Interpellat me terra quocunque respicio uberem vinetis faciem, cum aratris impexa contristat.'

[2] It is not necessary to believe, though Ennodius asserts it, that Theodoric here made a little display of learning by the remark that Oenotria, the ancient name of Italy, was derived from οἶνος, 'wine.'

Epiphanius with tears of joy welcomed the commission conferred upon him by his prince. He could not help acknowledging how much the new sovereign 'surpassed the previous emperors, the rulers of his own race[1], not only in justice and in warlike deeds, but in pity for the sufferings of his people. *They* had too often carried, or suffered the people to be carried, captive, whereas he was bent on redeeming them. If Victor, Bishop of Turin, might be joined with Epiphanius in the commission, he felt that he could safely answer for the result. The King assented, and 'the awful pontiff,' having said farewell and received the money for the ransom, departed upon his mission[2]. It was the month of March; the Alpine passes were of course still covered with snow; but the brave old man faced the hardships of the road as cheerfully as when, twenty years before, he set forth upon his celebrated embassy to Euric[3]. 'Not once,' we are told, 'did *his* feet slip upon the frozen snow, whose soul was founded upon the Rock.' He was so intent on fulfilling his mission that he tolerated with impatience even the halts for refreshment, and when his companions were appalled at the difficulties of the way, he alone knew no fear. At the fame of his approach, young and old, men and women, flocked

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494. Epiphanius undertakes a mission in their behalf to Gundobad, 494.

The journey across the Alps.

[1] 'Justitia prius an bellorum exercitatione, an quod his praestantius est, *omnes retro imperatores* te pietate superasse commemorem? Habes unde *gentis nostrae rectores* accuses.' The passage is interesting, as showing how far Theodoric was looked upon as continuing the line of the Roman emperors.

[2] 'At *tremendus* pontifex, dicto vale, discessit.' In the course of his reply he said something to the King about David cutting off the skirt of Saul's robe, but the application of the remark is not obvious.

[3] See vol. ii. p. 490.

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 494. from distant hamlets to get a sight of the venerable peace-maker. They brought with them generous offerings of food for the travellers. Epiphanius and his companions accepted what was absolutely necessary for their own wants, but bestowed the greater part on the poor of the district. As one of those companions was Ennodius himself, the biographer of the Saint, we have the satisfaction of knowing that every incident characteristic of life and manners in the story of this legation is from the pen not only of a contemporary, but of an eye-witness.

When the deputation reached Lyons, Rusticus, the successor of Bishop Patiens, and a man who had always served the interests of the Church, when still an official of the State and not a bishop, came forth to meet them, and gave them a sketch of the crafty character of the King[1], which put Epiphanius on his guard and caused him to rehearse the speech which he was about to deliver before him.

When, however, King Gundobad heard of the Bishop's approach he at once said to his servants, 'That is a man whose character and whose countenance I have ever associated with those of the blessed martyr St. Laurence; enquire when he is willing to see me, and invite him accordingly.'

Interview with Gundobad. The day of audience came. The courtiers flocked in crowds to see the man whose eloquence had conquered so many conquerors. Victor was invited to commence the proceedings, but he courteously threw off upon his companion the weight of the harangue.

[1] 'Quae erant astutiae regis, edocuit.' Binding resents Dahn's calling his hero 'der zweideutige Gundobad,' but I think this expression justifies the phrase.

'Most worthy Sovereign,' said Epiphanius, 'only an unutterable love for you has forced me thus to wage war upon time and nature, to dare the perils of the avalanche, to thread my way through forests paved with snow, to leave my foot-prints on the ice-fields, where even the foot is clasped by the all-binding frost. But when I see two excellent kings thus situated, one asking what the other has not yet granted, how can I refrain from setting before them the testimony of the heavenly word, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Divide this promise between you; weigh it out in equal scales; nay, rather do thou press in and claim more than the half of it for thyself, by letting the captives whom he wishes to redeem, go forth free of charge. Despise the ransom-money which he offers, and which he has sent by me. That money, if scorned, will make thine armies wealthy; if accepted, it will make them beggars.

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494. Epiphanius' speech.

'Hear, oh King, the words of that Italy for whom you once fought. "How often," she says, "did you on my behalf oppose your mailed breast to the enemy! How often did you toil in counsel that I might be kept free from invasion, that my sons might not be carried captive, whom now you have carried captive yourself!" Even when they were being dragged from their homes, the matron, wringing those helpless hands that were chained to her neck, thought of thee as one who would avenge her. The fair young girl, struggling to preserve her honour, thought of thee as one who would applaud her victory. The simple husbandmen, those hardy children of the soil, accustomed to ply the heavy mattock, now, when their necks were tied together with thongs and their hands were bound in

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 494. manacles, said, "Are not you *our* Burgundians? See to it, how you shall answer for this before your pious King. How often have the hands which you presume to bind, paid tribute to your lord and ours[1]! We know right well that he never ordered these wicked deeds." Yea, many and many a one had to pay for his confidence in thee with his life, being struck down for some too haughty word to his captors.

'Oh! restore these honest hearts to their country; then will they still be thine. Fill that Liguria, which thou knowest so well, with happy cultivators, and empty her of thorns and thistles. So may a long succession of thy sons stand at the helm of the Burgundian state, and thou live again in their glories. It is not strangers who ask this of thee. The lord of Italy is joined to thee now by the tie of kindred: let the wedding-gift to Sigismund's bride be the freedom of the captives; the wedding-gift of thy son to her and to Christ.' Having thus spoken he and Victor arose and went to the King, laid their heads upon his breast, and wept.

The reply of Gundobad, who was, we are told, 'wealthy in speech and rich in all the resources of eloquence,' practically amounted to an enunciation of the maxim of modern Gaul, '*À la guerre comme à la guerre.*' 'It might suit this bright Christian star to inculcate the law of kindness towards an adversary,

His decision.

[1] 'Quoties quas ligare praesumitis, manus domino communi tributa solverunt!' It is chiefly on these words that Binding (p. 98) founds his theory of a formal cession of Liguria by Odovacar to Gundobad. But I think that Gundobad's relations to North Italy during the lifetime of his uncle Ricimer, and for a year after his death, are perhaps sufficient to explain them.

and of moderation even in warfare, but the statesman had to remember the quite different maxims by which the world is governed. The rule of warriors is, that everything which is not lawful in peace becomes lawful in war[1]. Your business is to cut up your adversary's power root by root, and so gradually detach him from his kingdom. This had Gundobad done to his adversary. He had repaid him scorn for scorn; when mocked with the semblance of a treaty, he had forced his secret opponent to show himself an open foe[2]. Now however, by divine permission, a peace had been established between them, which, he hoped, would be a long-lasting one. If these holy men would return to their homes he would consider what course it might be best to take, for the welfare of his kingdom and the safety of his soul, and would decide upon his answer.'

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When the bishops had departed the King called to him his councillor Laconius, a man of high—evidently Roman—birth, grandson of Consuls, of pure and pious life, one who was always ready to second every kind and generous impulse which he perceived in his sovereign. 'Go,' said the King to him, 'hoist all your sails to the winds. After hearing that holy man Epiphanius, and seeing his tears, I am ready to grant all you desire. Prepare a decree in my name which shall make this bargain as tight as possible[3]. All the

Gundobad takes counsel with Laconius.

His decision.

[1] 'Statuta sunt dimicantium, quidquid non licet, tunc licere.'

[2] 'Reposui regi partium illarum contumeliam quam putas illatam. Ludificatus specie foederis nihil egi studiosius, nisi ut, quod est cautelae, assertos inimicos agnoscerem.' The words are obscure, but coupled with what follows they seem to point to Theodoric, rather than to Odovacar, as the adversary of Gundobad.

[3] 'Vade, pleno pectore dicta sententias, per quas pactionis illius

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Italians who through fear of the Burgundian marauders, under stress of hunger, or by compact on the part of their prince[1] have come hither as captives, shall be at once liberated, free of charge. Those, however, whom our subjects in the ardour of battle carried captive on their own private account, must pay a ransom to their masters, for it would only make future battles more bloody, if the soldier had not a hope of profiting by the ransom of his captives.'

Return of the exiles.

With joyful alacrity Laconius prepared the documents setting forth the royal indulgence[2] and brought them to the Bishop, who embraced the bearer of so precious a gift. Soon the news spread abroad, and you would have thought Gaul was being emptied of its peasants, so great a number flocked from all the cities of Sapaudia[3] to thread the passes of the Alps for their return. Stripped of all exaggeration, the recital of Ennodius testifies that he himself, who was sent by the Bishop to the governors of the fortresses with the orders of release, in one day procured the liberation of 400 captives from Lyons alone, and that in all more than 6000 persons returned to their own land. Apparently the treasure confided by Theodoric to Epiphanius was all needed for the ransom of those who were in private hands, and was even supplemented by the pious offerings of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, and Syagria, a devout lady—possibly a daughter

durissime nexus irrumpas.' Surely 'irrumpas' here is owing to some corruption of the text?

[1] Odovacar?

[2] 'Impiger ille verborum saltibus indulgentiae species aut formas exposuit.' What does Ennodius mean by 'verborum saltibus'?

[3] Savoy, but including more than modern Savoy.

of the slain 'King of Soissons'—who was looked upon as a living treasury for the Church's needs.

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494. Epiphanius visits Geneva.

A visit to Geneva, to the Burgundian King Godegisel, was needed in order to obtain the same concession from him which had been already granted by his brother of Lyons. Then Epiphanius set forth accompanied by the rejoicing host of his redeemed captives. They went apparently by the way of the Little St. Bernard[1]. As they went, the multitude sang hymns of praise to God and the Bishop, who seemed to their excited imaginations another Elijah, just ready to ascend to heaven in a chariot of fire. The Bishop returned to Ticinum in the third month after he had quitted his home.

The exiles acclaim Epiphanius.

He provides for their temporal needs.

The mind of Epiphanius, however, was still beset with cares for the fortunes of the restored captives. They had returned as beggars to their native land, and the lot of those who had once held high station among them was especially hard. It seemed as if they were to be still as miserable, but less pitied than when they were in the hand of the enemy. An appeal to Theodoric was the natural remedy; yet Epiphanius would not make that appeal in person, lest it might seem as if he were claiming from the King those thanks, and that distinguished reception, which were the rightful meed of his services in Gaul. He seconded, however, the prayers of the petitioners, and by his letters on their behalf obtained that relief for each

[1] He went by Tarantasia, in the valley of the Isère above Grenoble, and there he healed a woman with an unclean spirit. [I am indebted to Mr. W. M. Baker for correcting my previous statement that they went by way of the Col de Lauteret and Col de Genèvre.]

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 494. which was necessary. The precise mode in which Theodoric helped these returned exiles to stock their farms and recommence the operations of husbandry we are not informed of, interesting as such a detail would have been.

Epiphanius again visits Ravenna, to seek for a reduction of taxation. About two years afterwards he again journeyed to Ravenna, to obtain a relief from taxes for his province, which had suffered, and apparently was still suffering, from a 'plague of great waters.' His admiring biographer thus addresses him in the recollection of that journey: 'Never did thy limbs, though weakened by disease, prove unequal to the task imposed upon them by thy soul. Cold, rains, the Po, fastings, sailings, danger, thunder-storms, the bivouac without a roof on the banks of the river, the doubt of reaching harbour in that inundated land, were all sweet to thy virtue which rejoiced in its triumph over these obstacles[1].' Arrived at the court of Theodoric, he pleaded with him to show his confidence in the security of his dynasty, by a remission of taxation which would assuredly one day benefit his successors; and said, in words which Theodoric seems to have adopted for his own, 'The peasant's wealth is the wealth of a good ruler[2].' It is granted. The King replied that, although the 'immense expenses' of the State[3] made it difficult to forego any part of the revenue, and notwithstanding the necessity of bestowing regular gifts on the Gothic defenders of

[1] 'Frigus, pluviae, Padus, jejunia, navigatio, periculum, tonitrua, sine tecto mansio in ripis fluminis, incerti pene sine terra portus [?], virtuti tuae dulcia fuerunt et grata successui.'

[2] 'Boni imperatoris est possessoris opulentia.' Notice the expression *imperatoris*.

[3] 'Licet nos immanium expensarum pondus illicitet.'

the kingdom[1], he would, in testimony of his esteem and gratitude to the petitioner, remit two-thirds of the taxes for the current year. The remaining third must be paid, else would the straitness of the treasury bring about in the end greater evils than those which Epiphanius was now seeking to remove. BOOK IV. CH. 9. 496.

With this concession in his hands, the Bishop hastened to return home. He had a suspicion that his end was not far off; a thought which did not occur to any of the multitudes who flocked to visit him. His own presentiment, however, was a true one. The snowy and inclement weather in which he had made the journey to Ravenna, had prepared the way for a fatal attack of catarrh which seized him on his way home, at Parma[2]. The people of Ticinum saw with consternation the return of their beloved bishop as a dying man. They stood in the forum, whispering and panic-stricken, and thinking that the end of the world was at hand if Epiphanius was to be taken from them. On the seventh day after his entry into Ticinum he died, having on his lips the triumphant song of the wife of Elkanah—'My heart rejoiceth in the Lord, mine horn is exalted in the Lord: because I rejoice in Thy salvation.' He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age and the thirtieth of his episcopate: certainly one of the noblest characters of his time, and a man who deserved a better biographer than Death of Epiphanius, 497.

[1] This, I think, must be the meaning of 'et pro ipsorum quiete legatis indesinenter munera largiamur.'

[2] 'Ut Parmam tamen ejusdem viae ingressus est civitatem, continuo eum coagulatus in vitalibus humor infudit, *quem catharrum medici vocant*: qui se medullitus inserens in ruinam publicam serviebat.'

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the one who has fallen to his lot, the wordy and vapid Ennodius.

496. Clovis's engagement with the Alamanni, 496.

The death of Epiphanius occurred in the year 497. We retrace our steps one year, to notice a very important event of 496. In that year, at some place unknown[1], but near the banks of the Rhine, and probably not far from Strasburg, Clovis met the Alamannic hosts in battle. Both nations were yet heathen, both perhaps equally barbarous. Both had felt the heavy hand of Julian, while the Empire still stood. Both had pressed in, when the Empire could no longer keep them at bay; the Frank, as we have seen, through the woods of Ardennes and across the flat lands of Picardy, to the Seine, to the Loire, and to the Catalaunian plains; while the Alamanni oversprang the too long dreaded *limes*, stormed the camp of the Saalburg on the heights of Taunus, and settled themselves in the lovely land, still crowded with Roman villas and rich with Roman vines, which was watered by the Neckar and the Main, and which sloped down to the right bank of the Middle Rhine. Which now of these two nations was to speak this word of power in the regions of the Rhine? That was the doubtful question which the issue of this day was to decide. Clovis had been intending to cross the Rhine, but the hosts of the Alamanni came upon

[1] The identification of this battle-site with Zulpich near Cologne is now generally abandoned. It rested on a misunderstanding of Gregory of Tours (ii. 37), who speaks of a battle fought with the Alamanni by a quite different Frankish chief, 'apud Tulbiacense oppidum.' The fact that Clovis, as we are told in the life of St. Vedast, returned by way of Toul to Rheims, points to the neighbourhood of Strasburg as the probable site of the battle. (This is remarked by von Schubert.)

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him, as it seems, unexpectedly and forced a battle on the left bank of the river. He seemed to be overmatched, and the horror of an impending defeat overshadowed the Frankish king. Then, in his despair, he bethought himself of the God of Clotilda. Raising his eyes to heaven he said, 'Oh Jesus Christ, whom Clotilda declares to be the Son of the living God, who art said to give help to those who are in trouble and who trust in Thee, I humbly beseech Thy succour! I have called on my gods and they are far from my help. If Thou wilt deliver me from mine enemies, I will believe in Thee, and be baptized in Thy name.' At this moment, a sudden change was seen in the fortunes of the Franks. The Alamanni began to waver, they turned, they fled. Their king, according to one account, was slain; and the nation seems to have accepted Clovis as its overlord.

The vow of Clovis.

Clovis hastened back to his queen, and told her the story of his vow. At the Christmas festival, he stood in the white robes of a catechumen in the basilica of Rheims, and heard from the mouth of Saint Remigius the well-known words, 'Bow thy neck in meekness, oh Sicambrian! Adore what thou hast burned, and burn what thou hast adored.'

His baptism, Christmas, 496.

The mere conversion to Christianity of a Teutonic ruler of a Roman province was an event of comparatively little importance. It was but a question of time, a generation sooner or a generation later, when all the men of this class should renounce their hope of the banquets of Walhalla for an inheritance in the Christian City of God. But that the king of the Franks should be baptized into that form of Christianity which was professed by Clotilda and Remigius,

Effect of Clovis's conversion.

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496.

that he should enter into devout and loyal communion with the Catholic Church, was an event indeed of world-wide significance, well worthy of the congratulations which it called forth from Pope and Metropolitan, from Anastasius of Rome and from Avitus of Vienne. The title 'Eldest Son of the Church' borne by the kings of France, while she still had kings, perpetuated, to our own day, the remembrance of the rapture with which the hard-pressed and long-suffering Catholics of the Empire greeted the fact that at length force, barbarian force, was coming over to their side. They had been oppressed and trampled upon long enough. Carthaginian Hilderic had cut out the tongues of their confessors. Euric of Toulouse had shut up their churches and turned cattle into their churchyards. But now the young and irresistible conqueror beyond the Loire would redress the balance. Clovis, and his sons, and the nobles who would inevitably follow their example, from above, with the great mass of patient orthodox Roman provincials from below, would yet make an end of the Arian oppression.

The Arian states should have combined for mutual defence, but did not.

In the presence of this new arrangement of forces, with the certainty that henceforth every bishop and every priest throughout Western Europe would be a well-wisher, open or concealed, of the Frankish monarchy, there should undoubtedly have been a close league for mutual defence formed between the four great Arian and Teutonic monarchies, the Visigothic, the Burgundian, the Ostrogothic, and the Vandal. The statesmanlike mind of Theodoric must have perceived this truth. To some extent, as we shall see, he endeavoured to act upon it, but, from one cause or another, with no great persistency or success. Both

he and his Burgundian kinsman belonged to the class of tolerant Arians : in fact, Gundobad seemed at times more than half ready to turn Catholic himself. Possibly they felt themselves out of sympathy with the narrower and bitterer Arianism which reigned at the courts of Toulouse and Carthage. And, what was of more importance, diplomatists were wanting to them. Precisely the very men who would in any other matter have acted as their skilful and eloquent representatives, travelling like Epiphanius from court to court, and bringing the barbarian sovereigns to understand each other, to sink their petty grievances, and to work together harmoniously for one common end, precisely these men were the Catholic prelates of the Mediterranean lands to whom it was all-important that no such Arian league should be formed. It has been forcibly pointed out by an historian of the Burgundians[1] that, whereas all over the Roman world there was a serried array of Catholic bishops and presbyters, taking their orders from a single centre, Rome, feeling the interests of each one to be the interests of all, in lively and constant intercourse with one another, quick to discover, quick to disclose the slightest weak place in the organization of the new heretical kingdoms, of all this there was not the slightest trace on the other side. The Arian bishops took their fill of court favour and influence while it lasted, but made no provision for the future. They stood apart from one another in stupid and ignorant isolation. Untouched apparently by the great Augustinian thought of the world-encompassing City of God, they tended more and more to form local, tribal Churches, one for the Visigoths,

[1] Binding, 128.

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another for the Vandals, another for the Burgundians. And thus in the end the fable of the loosened faggot and the broken sticks was proved true of all the Arian monarchies.

Gundobad the Burgundian in danger, from his brother Godegisel, and Clovis.

It seemed as if the first to fall would be the kingdom of the Burgundians. In the autumn of 499, Gundobad was aware that his younger brother, Godegisel of Geneva, was engaged in a treacherous correspondence with Clovis, the object of which was the expulsion of Gundobad, and the elevation of Godegisel as sole king of the Burgundians, probably on condition of ceding some territory to his Frankish ally. Sorely perplexed and doubtful of the result, he was, as has been said, almost prepared to avert the blow by himself joining the Catholic Church.

He turns to the Catholic bishops for help.

The two leading bishops in his dominions—Stephen of Lyons and Avitus of Vienne—besought him to convoke his prelates to a conference, at which they might by disputation establish the Catholic verity. Could the King have seen the letter written three years before by Avitus to congratulate Clovis on his conversion, the letter in which he speaks of Gundobad as 'king indeed of his own people but your dependant,' and declares, 'we are affected by your good-fortune; whensoever you fight, we conquer [1],' he might have been less disposed than he was to maintain friendly relations with this eloquent and brilliant prelate but secret enemy of his crown and people. As it was, he said to the bishops, with some force of argument, 'If your faith is the true one, why do not your colleagues prevent

[1] 'Apud dominum meum suae quidem gentis regem sed militem vestrum. . . . . Tangit etiam nos felicitas: quotiescumque illic pugnatis vincimus.' (Aviti Epistola xli.)

the King of the Franks from declaring war against me, and leaguing himself with my enemies? Where a man covets that which belongs to another, there is no true faith.' Avitus cautiously replied, 'I know not why the King of the Franks should do this; but I know that the Scripture says that states often come to ruin because they will not obey the law of God. Turn with your people to that law, and you will have peace.' Not in this sentence only, but throughout this curious colloquy, there ran an under-current of assurance, that if Gundobad would reconcile himself to the Church, the Church would guarantee his safety from the attacks of Clovis. The King on this occasion replied with some heat, 'How? Do I not recognise the law of God? But I will not worship three Gods!'

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However, the bishops obtained their request; and it was fixed that a public disputation should take place at Lyons on the festival of St. Justus (September 2); the same festival, half-religious, half-popular, of which Sidonius gives so lively an account in connection with his epigram on the towel[1]. The King only stipulated that the discussion should not take place before a large assembly of the people lest there should be a breach of the peace.

A debate between Catholics and Arians decided on Sept. 2, 499.

The debate, which lasted two days, took the usual course of such disputations where neither party can enter, or wishes to enter, in the slightest degree into the difficulties and the convictions of its opponent, but each is simply bent on shouting its own shibboleth. Avitus made a long speech, Ciceronian in its style, proving the Athanasian Creed out of Holy Scripture. Boniface, the Arian champion, replied with the taunt

The *Collatio Episcoporum.*

[1] Ep. v. 17. See vol. ii. p. 321.

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of polytheism, to which already the King's words had given the cue. Next day Aredius, a high functionary of the Court and a Catholic, met the bishops of his party and besought them to discontinue the discussion, which was only embittering religious hatred, and was, besides, disagreeable to the King. They looked upon him as a lukewarm and timeserving believer, and refused to take his advice. The King renewed his complaints of the hostile machinations of Clovis, and now for the first time mentioned the dreaded defection of his brother. The bishops answered, that if Gundobad would only turn Catholic it would be easy to arrange an alliance with Clovis. They then proceeded to reply to the charge of polytheism. Boniface, who is represented as vanquished in the argument, could only shriek out his invectives against the worshippers of three Gods, till he had shouted himself hoarse. Then the orthodox bishops proposed an appeal to miracle. Both parties should repair to the grave of St. Justus, and ask the saint which confession of faith was the true one, and a voice from the grave should decide the question. The Arians replied that such a course would be as displeasing to God as Saul's attempt to raise Samuel from the tomb, and that they for their part would rest their case on nothing else than the appeal to Holy Scripture.

The debate accomplishes nothing.

Thus the *Collatio Episcoporum* broke up. Nothing had been accomplished by it. Gundobad had not been persuaded, perhaps had not seen, among his own chief nobles, sufficient pliability of faith to make him venture on declaring himself a convert. He, however, took Stephen and Avitus into his inner chamber, embraced them, and begged them to pray for him. As they left

him they meditated on the words 'No man can come unto Me, unless the Father which hath sent Me draw him.' Politically, there was nothing left but for the Arian and Athanasian to fight it out on the soil of Burgundy.

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500.

Early in the year 500 the storm broke. Gundobad, who had perhaps marched northwards in order to anticipate the junction of the two armies, was met by Clovis, and seems to have shut himself up in the strong Castrum Divionense. This place, the modern Dijon, now made memorable to the traveller by the exquisite tombs of Jean-sans-Peur and Philippe-le-Bon, almost the last rulers of a separate Burgundy, was then an *urbs quadrata*, showing still to the barbarians what was the likeness of a camp-city of the Romans. The wall, strengthened with thirty-three towers, which surrounded the city, was thirty feet high, and, as we are told, fifteen feet thick. Large hewn stones formed the foundation and the lower courses, but the upper portions were built of smaller stones, probably of what we call rubble masonry. A stream, which to some extent added to the strength of the camp, flowed in under a bridge at the northern gate, traversed the city, and emerged from it at the southern gateway[1]. Here, apparently, Gundobad made his stand—his unsuccessful stand. The Frankish host, aided by the men of Geneva, overcame the Burgundians of Lyons. Gundobad fled to Avignon, on the very southernmost border of his dominions, and there, clinging perhaps to the protection of his Visigothic neighbour, he remained for some months in obscurity.

The war breaks out, 500.

Gundobad at Dijon.

Gundobad flees to Avignon.

Godegisel and his Frankish ally marched through

[1] Gregory of Tours, iii. 19.

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500.

Godegisel triumphant.

the length and breadth of the kingdom, and the younger brother dreamed that he had reunited the whole of the dwellings of his people under his own sway. Discontent, however, was working beneath the surface; and, possibly on the departure northward of Clovis and his host, it broke out. Gundobad with a few followers, whose number daily augmented, crept cautiously up the valley of the Rhone, and at length, appearing before his old capital Vienne, besieged his brother therein. Godegisel, whose supply of provisions was small, ordered all the poorer inhabitants to be expelled from the town. Among them was an ingenious man, a Roman doubtless by birth, who had had the charge of the chief aqueduct of Vienne. Going to the tent of Gundobad he confided to him the existence of a certain ventilation hole[1], by which troops could be introduced through this aqueduct into the heart of the city. Gundobad followed the engineer's advice. He himself headed the detachment of troops which went through the aqueduct; and in a few hours Vienne was his own again. With his own hand he slew the treacherous Godegisel, and, we are told, 'put to death, with many and exquisite torments, the senators [no doubt Roman nobles] and Burgundians who had been on his side[2].' The Frankish troops, which had been left to guard the newly-erected throne, he did not dare either to keep, or to dismiss to their homes. He accordingly sent them to his ally, the King of the Visigoths, who kept them for some time in honourable captivity at Toulouse.

Gundobad returns and besieges his brother in Vienne.

Vienne taken and Godegisel slain.

Inactivity of Clovis.

The inactivity of Clovis during these later events,

[1] Spiraculum.

[2] Marius of Aventicum, s. a. 500, and Gregory of Tours, ii. 33.

500.

by which the whole fruits of the victory of Dijon were wrested from him, is left quite unexplained in the meagre annals of the time. There is some slight indication of Visigothic influence having been thrown on the side of Gundobad: but, though we have no evidence to adduce in support of it, we can hardly repress the conjecture that Theodoric, the father-in-law of Sigismund, heir of the Burgundian kingship, Theodoric, who from the provinces of Raetia and Liguria could, when summer was advanced, so dangerously operate on the flank of an army of Clovis descending the Rhone valley, must have been the real counterpoise to the Franks in the year 500, during Gundobad's war of Restoration. Whatever the cause, the restored King, who now wielded the whole might of the Burgundian nation, and was more powerful than any of his predecessors, was during the remaining sixteen years of his reign left unmolested by the Frank; nay even, as we shall see, was invited to join in the schemes of Frankish conquest, though on terms of partnership not unlike those which the Horse accepted from the Man, in the old fable.

Clovis again at war with the Alamanni.

In the early years of the new century, probably about 503 or 504, Clovis was again at war with his old enemies, the Alamanni. As the Frankish historian, Gregory, is silent about this campaign, we can only speak conjecturally as to its causes, and its course. We can see, however, that king and people revolted against their Frankish overlord, that there were hints of treachery and broken faith, that Clovis moved his army into their territories and won a victory, much more decisive, though less famous, than that of 496. This time the angry King would make no such easy

Their defeat and forced migration.

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 500. 'Franconia.' terms as he had done before. From their pleasant dwellings by the Main and the Neckar, from all the valley of the Middle Rhine, the terrified Alamanni were forced to flee. Their place was taken by Frankish settlers, from whom all this district received in the Middle Ages the name of the Duchy of Francia, or, at a rather later date, that of the Circle of Franconia.

The Alamanni take refuge in Raetia. The Alamanni, with their wives and children, a broken and dispirited host, moved southward to the shores of the Lake of Constance, and entered the old Roman province of Raetia. Here they were on what was held to be, in a sense, Italian ground; and the arm of Theodoric, as ruler of Italy, as successor to the Emperors of the West, was stretched forth to protect them. Clovis would fain have pursued them, would perhaps have blotted out the name of Alamanni from the earth. Theodoric forbids Clovis to pursue them. But Theodoric addressed a letter[1] to his victorious kinsman, in which, while congratulating him on having aroused the long dormant energies of his people, and won by their means a triumph over the fierce nation of the Alamanni, having slain some and forced others humbly to beg for life, he warned him not to push his victory too far. 'Hear,' said he, 'the advice of one who has had much experience in matters of this nature. Those wars of mine have had a successful issue, over the ending of which, moderation has presided.' Throughout the letter the tone is hardly so much of advice as of command, to the Frankish conqueror, to pursue his ruined foe no further.

The Alamanni under Theodoric. The Alamanni gladly accepted the offered protection and dominion of Theodoric. The king of the Ostrogoths became their king, and they, still in their old

[1] Variarum, ii. 41.

heathen wildness, became his subjects, conforming themselves doubtless but imperfectly to the maxims of the Roman *civilitas*, but, for one generation at least, leaving the mountain-passes untraversed, and doing rough garrison duty for their king, between the Alps and the Danube. Eastern Switzerland, Western Tyrol, Southern Baden and Würtemberg, and South-western Bavaria probably formed this new Alamannia, which will figure in later history as the *Ducatus Alamanniae* or the Circle of Swabia [1].

Alamannia = Swabia.

The next stroke from the heavy hand of Clovis fell upon the Visigothic kingdom, and it was a crushing one. In the year 507 the Frankish King announced to his warriors, possibly when they were all assembled at the Field of Mars, 'I take it very ill that these

War denounced by Clovis against Alaric II king of the Visigoths, 507.

[1] These few paragraphs are a greatly condensed statement of the theory put forward, and in my judgment proved, by von Schubert in his monograph 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken,' Strassburg, 1884. The strong points in favour of the theory are—

I. The letter of Theodoric, composed by Cassiodorus and quoted above, which could not have been written in 496 or 497. I had come to this conclusion before I saw von Schubert's argument.

II. The strong language of Ennodius in his Panegyric on Theodoric: 'Quid quod a te *Alamanniae generalitas* intra Italiae terminos sine detrimento Romanae possessionis inclusa est, cui evenit habere regem postquam meruit perdidisse? Facta est Latiaris custos imperii semper nostrorum populatione grassata, cui feliciter cessit fugisse patriam suam, nam sic adepta est soli nostri opulentiam,' &c. The words in italic can only mean the whole state of the Alamanni.

III. The words of Agathias (i. 6): Τούτους (sc. τοὺς Ἀλαμαννοὺς) δὲ πρότερον Θευδέριχος ὁ τῶν Γότθων βασιλεύς, ἡνίκα καὶ τῆς ξυμπάσης Ἰταλίας ἐκράτει, ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν παραστησάμενος, κατήκοον εἶχε τὸ φῦλον.

Against such a consensus of first-rate authorities as this, the mere silence of a writer like Gregory counts for very little.

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 507. Arians should hold so large a part of Gaul. Let us go and overcome them with God's help, and bring their land under our rule.' These abrupt denunciations of war have not unfrequently been resorted to by Frankish sovereigns. We heard one of them in our own day, when, at the New Year's festivity of 1859, the Emperor of the French suddenly informed a startled Europe that his relations with his brother of Austria were not as good as he could desire.

Theodoric's efforts to avert it.

In this case, rapid as was the action of Clovis, there was apparently[1] time for a brief and lively interchange of correspondence between Italy and Gaul. Theodoric, hearing of the threatened outbreak of hostilities, employed the pen of his eloquent Quaestor Cassiodorus to compose a series of letters[2], to all the chief persons concerned, to Alaric, to Clovis, to Gundobad, nay, even to the semi-barbarous kings of the tribes still tarrying in Germany, the Heruli, the Warni, the Thuringians[3], in order to avert by all possible means the dreaded encounter.

[1] I say apparently, because I feel how much weight is due both to the authority and the arguments of Binding (p. 181), who, with Pallmann and some others, assigns the letters in question to an earlier date, and believes that they were for the time successful in averting war between Clovis and Alaric. This earlier date would also lessen the difficulty which arises from Theodoric's calling the two kings 'Regii juvenes.' My chief reasons for not accepting it are, (1) that we have no hint in any of our authorities of such a threatened outburst before the actual one, and (2) that the Burgundo-Frankish alliance, which, it is thought, makes it impossible to date the letter to Gundobad in 507, seems to me to have been *unsuspected by Theodoric*. It was, I imagine, the skill with which this secret was kept, that baffled all Theodoric's plans for assisting Alaric.

[2] Variarum, iii. 1–4.

[3] The Thuringians were at this time settled in the country

To his Visigothic son-in-law Theodoric uttered a note of warning: 'Strong though you are in your own valour and in the remembrance of the great deeds of your forefathers, by whom even the mighty Attila was humbled, yet since your people's strength and aptitude for war may, by long peace, have been somewhat impaired, do not put everything to the hazard of a single action. It is only constant practice which can make the actual shock of battle seem anything but terrible to man. Let not, then, your indignation at the conduct of Clovis blind you to the real interests of your nation. Wait till I can send ambassadors to the King of the Franks, and till I have endeavoured to make peace between two princes, both so nearly allied to me, one my brother and the other my son, by marriage.' To 'his brother Gundobad' Theodoric expressed his regrets that 'the royal youths' should thus rage against one another, his desire that they might listen to the counsels of reverend age, as represented by himself and Gundobad[1], and his proposal that a joint embassy from

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507. His letter to Alaric,

to Gundobad,

from the Main to the Elbe, the same which afterwards bore the name Thuringia, but with a wider extension. The Warni (whom Cassiodorus calls Guarni) probably occupied the country immediately north of the Thuringians, from the Harz Mountains to the Baltic. The Heruli had, perhaps, moved up the Danube after the collapse of the Rugian monarchy, and may have held its northern shore from Augsburg to Passau. There had, however, been wars between them and the Lombards which make it extremely difficult to fix their position at this time.

[1] 'Nostrum est *Regios juvenes* objecta ratione moderari. . . . Vereantur senes, quamvis sint florida aetate ferventes.' Whatever date be assigned to the letter, these words are not without difficulty. Theodoric was born in 454, Clovis probably in 466, and Alaric II apparently not much later than 465 (since he does not seem to have been treated as a minor at his accession to the

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 507. to the German tribes, the three nations (Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Burgundians) should be addressed to Clovis, in order to re-establish peace between him and Alaric. The German chieftains, he reminded of the benefits and the protection which they, in past times, had received from Euric, the father of the now menaced prince. He expressed his conviction that this lawless aggression threatened equally every throne of a neighbour to Clovis, and begged them to join their ambassadors to his, in a summons to the Frankish King to desist from the attack on the Visigoths, to seek redress for his alleged wrongs from the law of nations [but where were the courts then, or where are they now, in which that law is administered?]; if he would not obey these counsels, then to prepare himself for the combined onset of them all.

to Clovis. The letter to 'Luduin' (as Theodoric, or Cassiodorus, styles the King of the Franks[1]) reiterates the same thoughts, dwells on the miseries which war inflicts upon the nations, declares that it is the act of a hot-headed man to get his troops ready for war at the very first embassy, and urges, almost commands, the Frank to accept his mediation. The letter contains the following passage, which certainly went far to pledge Theodoric to armed championship of his son-in-law: 'Throw away the sword, ye who wish to

throne in 485). This would make the respective ages of the senex and the juvenes fifty-three, forty-two, and forty-one in A.D. 507. But relative youth and age are often spoken of in this puzzling way by historians.

[1] The name of Clovis or Hlodwig seems to have presented peculiar difficulties to the Latin scribe. Cassiodorus (as above) calls it *Luduin*: Isidore (Chronicon, era 521) turns it into *Fluduicus*. The form used by Gregory is *Chlodovechus*.

draw it for *my* disgrace. It is in my right as a father, as a friend, that I thus threaten you. He who shall suppose that such monitions as ours can be treated with contempt—a thing which we do not anticipate—will find that he has to deal with us and our friends, as his adversaries.'

BOOK IV. CH. 9.

507. A threat of intervention.

Yet, in spite of all this correspondence and all these embassies, directed by one who had been a man of war from his youth, and who had a true statesman's eye to the necessities of the position, Alaric the Visigoth stood alone, and fell unaided, The Franks crossed the Loire; directed their march to Poitou: at the Campus Vogladensis, ten miles from Poitiers, the two armies met. Alaric would have played a waiting game, trusting to the eventual arrival of succours from his father-in-law; but the ignorant impetuosity of his troops, who vaunted that they were at least the equals in arms of the Franks, forced him to accept the offered battle[1]. Alaric fell, slain, it seems, by the hand of Clovis himself. His troops fled from the field of hopeless rout. Amalaric, the grandson of Theodoric, and the only legitimate child of the late King, was hurried away to Spain by his guardians. A few cities still held out for the Visigoths, but almost everywhere, from the Loire to the Pyrenees, the Frank roamed supreme. The religious fervour of Clovis was satisfied. That pious monarch would no longer be chagrined by seeing so large a part of Gaul in the hands of the Arians.

The war begins.

Battle of Vouillé.

Defeat and death of Alaric II.

[1] So says Procopius (De Bello Gothico, i. 12), and notwithstanding his imperfect knowledge of the campaign (he places the battle at Carcassonne), I think we need not reject this detail. Οἱ Γερμανοί with him means the Franks.

BOOK IV. CH. 9.

507. Gundobad in league with Clovis.

What was the cause of this sudden collapse of the great Arian confederacy and of Theodoric's entire failure to redeem his pledge, by championing his son-in-law? It seems probable that it is to be sought in the unexpected defection of Gundobad, who did not even remain neutral in the conflict, but positively allied himself with the Frankish invader. The reasons for this change of attitude are not fully known to us. Ever since the *Collatio Episcoporum*, Gundobad had been on increasingly friendly terms with the Catholic Episcopate, especially with the courtly Avitus. His first-born Sigismund, perhaps both his sons, had formally joined the Catholic communion. Some of the courtiers had followed their example. Gundobad himself, though to the day of his death he refused to abjure the faith of his forefathers, showed a willingness to do everything for the creed of his Roman subjects, except to make that one ignominious confession of hereditary error. He might perhaps also allege that in the catastrophe of 500 he had been left to fight his battles alone, and that he was under no obligation, for Alaric's sake, a second time to see the terrible Sicambrian devastating the Rhone-lands. Whatever the cause, it is clear that Burgundia went with Francia against Vesegothia in the fatal campaign; and it is highly probable that Theodoric did not know that this was to be her attitude till the very eve of the contest, and when it was too late for him to take measures for forcing his way past the territories of a hostile nation to the relief of his son-in-law[1].

[1] Binding points out, in this connexion, that the name of the Roman Consul did not reach Lyons throughout the year 507, from which he infers that communication was interrupted between

At the death of Alaric the situation was further complicated by a division in the Visigothic camp. The child Amalaric, now a refugee in Spain, was, as has been said, the only legitimate representative of the fallen king. But Alaric had left a bastard son named Gesalic, now in early manhood, who, according to the lax notions about succession prevalent among the Teutonic peoples, might fairly aspire to the kingdom, if he could make good his claim by success. He appears, however, to have been but a feeble representative of his valiant forefathers[1]. He lost Narbonne to Gundobad, and after a disgraceful rout, in which many of the Visigoths perished, he fled to Barcelona, whence, after four years of a shadowy reign, he was eventually expelled by the generals of Theodoric.

Division among the Visigoths.

Claims of Gesalic.

508 (?).

The great city of Arles, once the Roman capital of Gaul, maintained a gallant defence against the united Franks and Burgundians, and saved for generations the Visigothic rule in Provence and Southern Languedoc. Of the siege, which lasted apparently from 508 to 510, we have some graphic details in the life of St. Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, written by his disciples[2]. This saint, who was born in Burgundian Gaul, had for years lain under suspicion of being discontented with the Gothic yoke, and had spent some time in exile at Bordeaux under a charge of treason. Released, and permitted to return to his diocese, he was

Defence of Arles, 508-510.

Caesarius Bishop of Arles.

Italy and Burgundy. Italy did actually touch the Visigothic territory at the Riviera, but it was probably dangerous to try that road with a hostile power like the Burgundians on the flank.

[1] 'Sicut genere vilissimus, ita infelicitate et ignavia summus' (Isidori Chronicon, p. 720, ed. Grotius).

[2] Bollandist Acta Sanctorum, August 27.

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 508–510.

busying himself in the erection of a convent, where holy women were to reside under the presidency of his sister Caesaria, when the Franks and Burgundians came swarming around the city; and the half-finished edifice, which was apparently outside the walls, was destroyed by the ferocity of the barbarians.

He is suspected of communicating with the besiegers.

The siege dragged on and became a blockade. A young ecclesiastic, 'struck with fear of captivity and full of youthful fickleness,' let himself down the wall by a rope, and gave himself up to the besiegers. Not unreasonably the old suspicions as to the loyalty of Caesarius revived. The Goths, and the Jews, who sided with the Goths, surrounded the church, clamouring that the Bishop had sent the deserter, on purpose to betray them to the enemy. 'There was no proof,' say his biographers, 'no regard to the stainless record of his past life. Jews and heretics crowded the precincts of the church, shouting out "Drag forth the Bishop! Let him be kept under strictest guard in the palace!" Their object was that he should either be drowned in the Rhone, or at least immured in the fort of Ugernum [one of the castles by the river, not far from Arles], till by hardship and exile his life was worn away. Meanwhile his church and his chamber were given up to be occupied by the Arians. One of the Goths, in spite of the remonstrances of his comrades, dared to sleep in the saint's bed, but was smitten by the just judgment of God, and died the next day.

Caesarius in confinement.

'A cutter (*dromo*) was then brought, and the holy man was placed in it that he might be towed up [to the above-named castle] past the lines of the besiegers. But as, by divine interposition, they were unable to

move the ship, though tugging it from either shore, they brought him back to the palace, and there kept him in such utter seclusion that none of the Catholics knew whether he was dead or alive.

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 508-510.

'At length however there came a change. A certain Jew tied a letter to a stone and tried to fling it to the besiegers. In it he offered to betray the city to them on condition that the lives, freedom, and property of all the Jews were spared; and he indicated the precise spot in the walls, to which the besiegers were to apply their ladders. Fortunately, next day the enemy did not come so near the walls as usual. Hence the fateful letter was found, not by the Burgundians, but by the Goths, and thus the selfish cruelty of the Jews, hateful both to God and man, was exposed. Then was our Daniel, St. Caesarius, drawn up from the den of lions, and the Jews his accusers, like the satraps of Darius, were sent to take his place.'

Treachery of a Jew.

Caesarius liberated.

The brave defence of Arles enabled Theodoric still to intervene to save the remnants of the Visigothic monarchy in Gaul. This he could doubtless do with the more success now that the embarrassing claim of Gesalic was swept away. In the spring of the year 508 he put forth a stirring proclamation to his people, prepared by Cassiodorus. 'We need but hint to our faithful Goths that a contest is at hand, since a warlike race like ours rejoices at the thought of the strife. In the quiet times of peace, merit has no chance of showing itself, but now the day for its discovery draws nigh. With God's help, and for the common good, we have decided on an invasion of Gaul. We send round our faithful Saio, Nandius, to warn you to come

Theodoric summons his troops to a campaign in Gaul, 508.

BOOK IV. CH. 9. 508.

in God's name fully prepared for our expedition, in the accustomed manner, with arms, horses, and all things necessary for the battle, on the 24th of June[1].'

The Ostrogothic army advances, commanded by Tulum.

The Ostrogothic army advanced to the relief of the courageous garrison of Arles. Conspicuous among the generals, perhaps chief in command, was Tulum, who had recently shown in the war of Sirmium[2] that a Gothic lord of the bedchamber could deal as heavy blows as any trained soldier among the Byzantines or the Huns. The possession of the covered bridge which connected Arles with the east bank of the Rhone was fiercely contested, and in the battles fought for its capture and recapture, Tulum showed great personal courage, and received many honourable wounds.

But the united armies of Franks and Burgundians required much defeating; and still the siege of Arles was not raised, though its stringency may have been somewhat abated, and though all Provence to the eastward of the city was probably secured to Theodoric.

509. Another Ostrogothic army invades Burgundy from Susa.

We have reason to believe that in the next year a bold and clever stroke of strategy was executed by the Ostrogoths. An army under Duke Mammo seems to have mounted the valley of the Dora-Susa, crossed the Alps near Briançon, and descended into the valley of the Durance, plundering the country as they proceeded. They thus threatened to take the Burgundians in rear as well as in front, and put them under strong compulsion to return to defend their homes, in the region which we now know as Dauphiné[3].

[1] Cass. Var. i. 24.

[2] To be described in the next chapter.

[3] The plan of this campaign of 509 is deduced by Binding

510. Victory of Theodoric's troops, 510 (?).

The decisive battle was perhaps not delivered till the early part of 510. Then the Goths under Count Ibbas completely routed the united armies of the Franks and Burgundians. If we may believe the boastful bulletin transcribed by Jordanes, more than 30,000 Franks lay dead upon the field[1]. Certainly many captives were taken by the united forces of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, since all the churches and houses of the now delivered Arles were filled with their unkempt multitudes. St. Caesarius gladly devoted the proceeds of the communion-plate, which he sold, to the redemption of some of these captives; and when cavillers objected to so uncanonical a proceeding, he replied that it was better that the communion should be celebrated in delf, than that a fellow-man should remain in bondage one hour longer than was necessary.

Cæsarius on his defence, at Ravenna.

To complete the history of the good prelate, it may be mentioned that some years later the cry of disloyalty was again raised against him, and he was taken to Ravenna, under a guard of soldiers, to give account of himself to his new sovereign, Theodoric. As soon as the King saw the firm and venerable countenance of the Bishop, he seems to have instinctively felt that this was a man to be conciliated, not intimidated. He rose from his seat to greet him, doffed his crown to do him reverence, asked him con-

from some expressions in the correspondence of Avitus (Ep. 78), combined with the notice in the chronicle of Marius, 'Importuno consule Mammo Dux Gothorum partem Galliae depraedavit.'

[1] 'Non minore tropeo de Francis per Ibbam suum comitem in Galliis adquisivit, plus triginta millia Francorum in praelio caesa' (Jord. de Reb. Get. lviii).

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cerning the toils of his journey, and affectionately enquired what tidings he could give him of the people of Arles, and what, of his own Goths who were garrisoning it. As soon as Caesarius had left the royal presence, Theodoric, we are told, imprecated woe on the malicious accusers, who had caused a man of such evident holiness to be annoyed by so long and so needless a journey. 'When he entered to salute me,' the King is said to have exclaimed, 'my whole frame trembled. I felt that I was looking on an angelical countenance, on a truly apostolic man. I hold it impiety to harbour a thought of evil concerning so venerable a person.'

Theodoric's present to Caesarius.

After the interview the King sent to the saint a silver dish weighing 60 lbs., together with 300 golden solidi (£180), entreating him to use the salver daily and to remember his son Theodoric who had presented it. The saint, who never had an article of silver on his table except an egg-spoon, at once sold the dish (which would probably be worth 240 solidi [1], or £144) and applied the proceeds to his favourite charity, the liberation of captives. Mischief-makers informed the King that they had seen his present exposed for sale in the market; but when he learned the purpose to which Caesarius was applying the proceeds, he expressed such admiration of the virtues of the saint, that all his courtiers followed suit and repaired to the Bishop's dwelling to shake him by the hand. But already the crowd of poor sufferers, in his oratory and

[1] The relative values of silver and gold underwent great fluctuations towards the end of the Empire: but in A.D. 422 one pound of silver was worth four solidi, or forty-eight shillings (Dureau de la Malle, i. 95, quoting Cod. Theod. viii. 4. 27).

510.

in the atrium of his lodgings, was so great that his wealthier admirers found it no easy matter to gain entrance to his presence.

Operations in Spain against Gesalic.

The result of the battle of Arles was to put Theodoric in secure possession of all Provence, and of so much of Languedoc as was needful to ensure his access to Spain, whither, peace having been concluded with Clovis and Gundobad, Ibbas and the Ostrogothic army now marched, to cut up by the roots the usurped dominion of Gesalic. That feeble pretender was soon driven forth from his capital, Barcelona, and wandered, an exile, to the Court of Thrasamund the Vandal, Theodoric's brother-in-law. Notwithstanding this tie of kindred with his pursuer, Thrasamund received the fugitive kindly, and enabled him to return to Gaul, having provided him with large sums of money, with which he enlisted followers and disturbed the peace of the Gothic provinces. Theodoric upon this wrote a sharp rebuke to his brother-in-law, telling him among other things that he was certain he could not have sought the counsel of his wife, the wise and noble Amalafrida, before taking a step so fatal to all friendly relations between the two kingdoms. The Vandal King frankly confessed his fault, and sent ambassadors with large presents, apparently of gold plate, to soothe the anger of his brother-in-law. Theodoric cordially accepted the apology, but not the presents, saying that, after reading the words of Thrasamund, it was sweeter to give back *his* presents than to receive costly gifts from any other sovereign[1].

Thrasamund assists him, but repents of doing so.

Defeat and death of Gesalic, 511 (?).

As for Gesalic, weak and cowardly intriguer, his attempted rebellion was again with ease suppressed.

[1] Cass. Var. v. 43 and 44.

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After a year spent in troubling the peace of Gaul he returned to Spain, was defeated by Ibbas in a pitched battle twelve miles from Barcelona, again took flight —this time for Burgundy—was captured a little north of the river Durance, and was put to death by his captors.

Consulship of Clovis.

After the overthrow of the Visigothic kingdom, Clovis received from the Emperor Anastasius letters bestowing on him the dignity of Roman Consul[1]. In the church of St. Martin at Tours, he appeared clothed in purple tunic and mantle, the dress of a Roman and of a sovereign, and with the diadem on his head. Then, mounting his horse at the door of the atrium of the church, he rode slowly through the streets to the cathedral, scattering gold and silver coins as he went, and saluted by the people (the Roman provincials doubtless) with shouts of 'Chlodovechus Consul! Chlodovechus Consul!'

His death, 511.

After having murdered the rest of the Salian and Ripuarian princes in Gaul, and left himself in a solitude which he sometimes affected to deplore, (but this was only in the hope of tempting any forgotten kinsman who might be lingering in obscurity, to come forth and meet the knife of the assassin), Clovis, the eldest son of the Church, died at Paris in the forty-fifth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign, and was buried in the Basilica of the Holy Apostles, which had been reared by him and Clotilda. Already, in the founder of the Merovingian family, we see indications of that shortness of life which was to be so remarkable a characteristic of its later generations.

[1] *Consul suffectus*, not *Consul ordinarius*. His name does not appear, as does that of Theodoric, in the Roman Fasti.

At his death his kingdom was divided between his four sons, Theodoric, Chlodomir, Childebert, and Chlotochar. The last three only were sons of Clotilda.

Theodoric rules Spain.

For the rest of his reign, Theodoric the Amal ruled Spain and Visigothic Gaul as protector of his grandson Amalaric, but in his own name, and with power nearly as uncontrolled as that which he exercised in Italy itself. The chief limitation to that power consisted in the great influence wielded by Theudis, an Ostrogoth whom he had appointed guardian of Amalaric, perhaps *Praefectus Praetorio* of Spain. Theudis married a wealthy Spanish lady, surrounded himself with a body-guard of 2000 men, and affected some of the state of independent royalty. There was no open breach between him and his master, but when, towards the end of his reign, Theodoric invited the too powerful minister to visit him at Ravenna, Theudis, who was doubtful as to the return journey, ventured to refuse obedience to the summons, and Theodoric did not consider it prudent to enforce it. The aged king probably knew that he was not transmitting a perfectly safe inheritance to his Visigothic grandson.

Half-independent attitude of his lieutenant Theudis.

Gundobad's loss by his alliance with Clovis.

We return to contemplate the declining fortunes of the Burgundian monarchy. Gundobad had certainly reaped little benefit from his desertion of the Arian confederacy and his alliance with Clovis. He had quite failed to secure the coveted lands at the mouths of the Rhone: he had even, it would seem, lost Avignon, though he may have gained the less important city of Viviers (Alba Augusta) in exchange. A strong chain of Ostrogothic fortresses barred the passage of the boundary river, the Durance, and he was now cooped up between two mighty neighbours,

one of whom ruled from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and the other from the Danube to Gibraltar. Whether the mutual relations of these two states were friendly or hostile, *he* was but too likely to come to ruin between them.

Death of Gundobad, 516.

However, Gundobad died in peace in the year 516, having outlived Clovis five years; and was succeeded by his son Sigismund, son-in-law of Theodoric, and a convert to the Catholic faith. The new king, a man of an unstable hysterical temperament, left scarcely a fault uncommitted which could hasten the downfall of his throne. After alienating, probably, the affections of his Burgundian warriors by abjuring the faith of his forefathers, he lost the hearty good-will of the Catholics by engaging in a quarrel with their bishops, on account of their excommunication of his chief treasurer for marrying his deceased wife's sister. The resolute attitude maintained by the bishops, who put 'the most excellent king' in a kind of spiritual quarantine till he should come to a better mind, coupled with an opportune attack of fever, brought Sigismund to his knees in abject surrender, and he was reconciled to the Church, but doubtless with some loss of royal dignity.

Accession of Sigismund, a convert to Catholicism.

The natural ally of the Burgundian against his too powerful neighbour the Frank, was evidently the Ostrogothic King. Instead of recognising this fact, Sigismund exhausted the vocabulary of servitude in grovelling self-prostration before the Emperor Anastasius, a sovereign whose power was too remote from the scene of action to be of the slightest service to him, when the time of trial should come. At the same time, he irrevocably alienated Theodoric by a domestic

His self-humiliation before the Emperor,

and breach with Theodoric.

crime, which reminds us of the family history of another distinguished convert, Constantine, and, perhaps with less justice, of a passage in the life of another pillar of orthodoxy, Philip II of Spain[1]. The daughter of Theodoric had borne to Sigismund a son who was named Segeric. This youth contemplated, we are told, his eventual accession to both thrones, the Burgundian and the Ostrogothic, and, though we have no reason for asserting that his maternal grandfather designed to make him his heir, such a union of the kingdoms would have had much to recommend it to the statesmanlike mind of Theodoric. But Sigismund, after the death of his Amal wife, had married again. His second wife, a woman not of noble birth, but of orthodox creed, inflamed the father's jealousy against his son, who had flouted her as unworthy to wear the clothes of her late mistress, and whom she accused of not being willing to wait the ordinary course of nature for the succession to his inheritance. The wretched Sigismund listened to the poisonous insinuation, and, without giving his son an opportunity of justifying himself, cut him off by a coward's stroke. One day when Segeric was flustered with wine (we remember how Sidonius speaks of the deep potations of the Burgundians), his father advised him to enjoy a *siesta* after the banquet. Suspecting no evil he fell asleep. Two slaves by the King's command entered the chamber, fastened a cord round his neck, and strangled him.

Murder of Sigismund's son, Segeric, by his father's orders, 522.

Scarcely was the foul deed done than it was repented

[1] The tendency of modern historians seems to be to acquit Philip of all blame for the death of Don Carlos, who was evidently insane.

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Sigismund's repentance.

of. The miserable father, finding that his son had been falsely accused, threw himself upon the corpse, and bitterly bewailed the blind folly which had bereft him of his child. Truly, and with Teutonic frankness, did the servant who witnessed his repentance, say, 'It is not he, but thou, oh King, who needest our pity.'

His retirement to Agaunum.

He fled to his beloved monastery at Agaunum, to that spot so well known to the modern traveller, where 'a key unlocks a kingdom,' as the Rhone, between nearly meeting mountain barriers, emerges from Canton Valais into Canton Vaud. Here, in the narrow defile, on the site of the imaginary martyrdom of the 'Theban Legion' (who, with Maurice at their head, were fabled

286.

to have gladly suffered martyrdom at the hands of Maximian rather than offer sacrifice to the gods of the Capitol), a house of prayer arose, and was so richly endowed by Sigismund, that it passed, though incorrectly, for his original foundation. In this retreat the King spent many days of misery, fasting and weeping. Here he ordered a choir to be formed, whose songs were to arise to Heaven night and day, that there might be a ceaseless ascription of prayer and praise to the Most High. One cannot condemn the religious turn which was taken by the bitter self-condemnation of the unhappy Sigismund, even though it induced him to issue the somewhat harsh order for the extrusion of all women and all secular persons

Flattery of Avitus.

from the vicinity of Agaunum. But one may condemn the clouds of adulation which Avitus, at the installation of the new choir, sent rolling towards the royal murderer from the pulpit of the basilica of Agaunum. He called him 'pious lord,' he praised his devotion, praised his liberality to the Church, regretted that

she could find no words adequate to his virtues, but assured him that on that day, by the institution of the perpetual choir, he had surpassed even his own good deeds[1]. And this, to the assassin of his own son, to the man whose conscience was at that very hour tormented by the Furies, the avengers of his child. Not with such poisonous opiates did Ambrose soothe Theodosius, after the massacre of Thessalonica. But then Ambrose had not been always a priest. While administering justice in the Roman praetorium, he had learned, it may be, some lessons of truth and righteousness which gave an increased nobility even to his ecclesiastical career.

Frankish expedition against Sigismund, 523.

The crime of Sigismund, however glossed over by the pulpit eloquence of Avitus, did not wait long for its punishment in this world. In 523, the year following the murder of Segeric, came the crash of a Frankish invasion, more disastrous even than that of 500. Three sons of Clovis joined in it, Chlodomir, Childebert, and Chlotochar (Lothair), incited thereto, according to the story current a century later, by the adjurations of their mother Clotilda, who urged them to revenge the wrongs which *her* family had suffered from Gundobad, more than thirty years before. We have seen how much reason there is to look with doubt, or even with absolute disbelief, upon this long-credited story. It is true that the one successor of Clovis who was not born to him of Clotilda, Theodoric, king of Metz and lord of the Arverni, took no part in the enterprise; but that abstention is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that his wife Suavegotta was the daughter of Sigismund.

[1] Aviti Homiliarum Fragmentum, vii (p. 298, Migne).

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523.

Theodoric's alliance with the Franks.

On the other hand, the other and greater Theodoric (after whom no doubt the son of Clovis was named), enraged at the murder of his grandson, adopted an attitude of something more than friendly neutrality towards his nephews, the Frankish invaders of Burgundia. Procopius, if we could trust his narrative of these distant affairs, draws for us a curious picture of the almost commercial arrangement between Ostrogoths and Franks for an 'invasion on joint account' of the contracting parties. He says[1], 'Afterwards, the Franks and Goths made an alliance for the injury of the Burgundians, on condition that they should subdue the people and divide their land; the nation which should fail to assist its confederate in the campaign, paying a certain stipulated quantity of gold, but not being shut out from its share in the division of the territory.' He then describes how Theodoric gave instructions to his generals to delay their march, and not enter Burgundian territory till they should hear of the victory of the Franks; and how the weight of the conflict thus fell upon the Franks alone, who gained a hard-fought victory. As they chid their allies, when they at length appeared, for their tardy arrival, the latter pleaded in excuse the difficulty of the Alpine passes. The stipulated amount was paid by them, and Theodoric was admitted to his equal share of the conquered territory, receiving general praise for the dexterity with which he had contrived to secure a large accession of territory, without bloodshed, by the payment of a moderate sum of money.

Curious account given of it by Procopius.

Considerable accession of

Whatever may have been the compact which Procopius has thus curiously distorted,—for certainly his

[1] De Bello Gotthico, i. 12.

account resembles more the transactions between Byzantium and Ctesiphon than the probable arrangements between two warlike Teutonic nations,—it must be admitted that in its immediate result the campaign of 523 was greatly to the advantage of Theodoric. With no hard fighting, he pushed his frontier in the Rhone-lands northwards from the line of the Durance to that of the Drôme, thus adding to his dominions all that he did not already possess of Provence, and no inconsiderable portion of Dauphiné besides[1]. The leader of the Ostrogothic army which achieved this bloodless conquest was Tulum, the hero of the campaign of 509 and the valiant succourer of Arles[2].

523. territory in Gaul thus obtained by Theodoric.

Meanwhile Sigismund fought and lost a battle with the Frankish invaders, probably near the northern frontier of his kingdom, fled to his favourite retreat of Agaunum, and was given up to the enemy by his Burgundian subjects, whose love he had no doubt lost when he slew his son[3].

Defeat of Sigismund.

[1] This is proved by the fact that bishops from the following places are found assisting at the *Gothic* councils held at Arles between 524 and 529—Cavaillon, Apt. Orange, St. Paul des Trois Châteaux (Augusta Tricastinorum), Charpentras, Gap, Embrun, Vaison (Binding, i. 266).

[2] Cassiodorus, in the previously quoted letter (viii. 10), says of Tulum: 'Mittitur igitur, Franco et Burgundio decertantibus, rursus ad Gallias tuendas, ne quid adversa manus praesumeret, quod noster exercitus impensis laboribus vindicasset. Adquisivit Reipublicae Romanae, aliis contendentibus, absque ulla fatigatione provinciam. . . . Triumphus sine pugna, sine labore palma, sine caede victoria,' &c.

[3] This is the version of the story given by the *Passio S. Sigismundi.* Jahn (ii. 303) thinks that the writer, who is partial to the Franks, has made the most of the treachery of the Burgundians,

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All seemed lost, but was not lost yet. As the Frankish hosts were retiring, probably on the approach of winter, Godomar, the younger and more energetic son of Gundobad, collected some troops and assumed the government, probably as a kind of regent on behalf of his captive brother. That brother with all his family was at once murdered by Chlodomir, with that ruthless indifference to human life which is an especial note of the Merovingian house. Sigismund, his wife, and his two sons were all thrown down a deep well in the neighbourhood of Orleans; and, as some faint justification of the crime, later generations trumped up the story, that after this manner had his father Gundobad dealt by Hilperik, the father of Clotilda, and *his* sons. But the wicked deed did not avail to stay the reaction against the Franks, and perhaps even strengthened the position of Godomar, the now recognised King of the Burgundians.

Godomar, younger son of Gundobad, makes a stand against the Franks.

Murder of Sigismund by the Frankish king, 523.

Campaign of 524.

The new King by his valour and energy restored for a time the almost desperate fortunes of his people. The Frankish brothers, joined this time by Theodoric of Auvergne, invaded the country. Godomar met them in battle at Véséronce on the Rhone, about thirty miles east of Lyons[1]. Chlodomir was slain by a javelin. The Burgundians, when they saw the long and carefully-tended hair of the dead man, drawn back from his forehead and descending to his

Battle of Véséronce, 21 June (?). Chlodomir slain.

and especially of their supposed share in the actual putting to death of their king.

[1] The date of the battle is suggested, not proved, by an interesting inscription discovered at Anse on the Saône, which appears to record the death of 'Villigisclus of good memory, who died in battle at Vesaroncia the xith of the Kalends of July.' See Binding, i. 258.

shoulders, knew that they had slain a royal Meroving[1]. They cut off the head and exhibited it on a spear-point to the Frankish warriors, who, discouraged by the death of their leader, broke their ranks and fled from the field. The little children of Chlodomir were cruelly murdered by Childebert and Chlotochar, who, intent upon this partition, left his death unavenged and Burgundia in peace.

524. Godomar victorious.

This then was the condition of affairs in Gaul when Theodoric the Ostrogoth died. The friendly monarchy of the Visigoths was all but rooted out of the land. That of the Burgundians still lived on, but had been shorn by Theodoric himself of some of its territory in the south, and really awaited but the first vigorous effort from the Franks to crumble into ruin. The dominions of the chief royal house of the Salian Franks, which at the accession of Clovis reached but from Utrecht to Amiens, now touched the Pyrenees at the south-west, and the Main and Neckar in the east. The Thuringians, under their king Hermanfrid, Theodoric's nephew by marriage, were the only power in Germany that seemed to have a chance of maintaining their independence against the Franks, and they too, soon after the death of Theodoric, were to be incorporated with the new world-empire of the Merovingians.

526. Enormous increase of Frankish power in the life-time of Theodoric.

Looking thus over the map of Western Europe at the beginning of the sixth century, is it possible for us not to cast one glance at that country whose chalk cliffs, seen from the shores which owned the sway of

England in the sixth century.

[1] Agathias (i. 3), who describes this battle, gives an interesting description of the Frankish *chevelure*, and contrasts it with the shaggy, unkempt locks of the Turks and Avars.

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Procopius's description of it.

Clovis, looked then near and fair as now they look from France when lit up by the sun of a summer morning? Yet this is how the contemporary Procopius speaks of the island of *Brittia*, which can hardly be any other than our Britain[1]. After describing the wall built across it by the ancients, which, according to him, ran from north to south, and separated the fruitful and populous east from the barren, serpent-haunted western tract, in which no man could live for an hour, he proceeds to tell a well-known story, which he scarcely likes to repeat, since it sounds like fable, and yet which is attested by such numberless persons who themselves witnessed the strange phenomenon that he does not like entirely to reject it:—

The country of the dead.

'The coast of the continent over against Brittia is dotted with villages, in which dwell fishermen, husbandmen, merchants, who serve the kings of the Franks but pay them no tribute, being excused by reason of the service which I am about to describe. They understand that they have it in charge to conduct by turns the souls of the dead to the opposite shore. Those upon whom the service devolves, at nightfall betake themselves to sleep, though waiting their summons. As the night grows old, an unseen hand knocks at their doors, the voice of an unseen person calls them to their toil. Then they spring up from their couches and run to the shore. They understand not what necessity constrains them thus to act; they know only that they *are* constrained. At the water's edge they see barks not their own, with no visible passengers on board, yet so deeply loaded that there is not a finger's breadth between the water and

[1] De Bello Gotthico, iv. 20.

the rowlocks. They bend to their oars, and in one hour they reach the island of Brittia, which, in their own barks, they can scarce reach in a night and a day, using both oar and sail. Arrived at the other side, as soon as they understand that the invisible disembarkation has taken place, they return, and now their boats are so lightly laden that only the keel is in the water. They see no form of man sailing with them or leaving the ship, but they hear a voice which seems to call each one of the shadowy passengers by name, to recount the dignities which they once held, and to tell their father's names. And if women are of the party, the voice pronounces the names of the husbands with whom they lived on earth. Such are the appearances which are vouched for by the men who dwell in those parts. But I return to my former narrative.'

So thick was the mist and darkness that had fallen upon the land where Severus died, where Constantine was saluted Imperator, and where Pelagius taught that man was born sinless. And truly, the analogy of that which happens to the spirit of the dead, well describes the change which had come over Britain. Our historians tell us indeed that Anderida fell two years before Theodoric won his kingdom. They conjecture that Eburacum fell during the central years of his reign, and that Cerdic, the pirate ancestor of Queen Victoria, conquered the Isle of Wight, where his descendant now abides in peace, four years after the death of the great Ostrogoth. But to the questions, so intensely interesting to us, *how* all these things happened, how the struggle was regarded by those engaged in it, what manner of man the Roman Provincial seemed to the Saxon, and the Heathen to

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the Christian, what were the incidents and what the nature of the strife,—to all of these questions we can scarce obtain more answer than comes back to us from the spirits of those with whom we once shared every thought, but who, summoned by the touch of an unseen hand, have left us for the Land of Silence.

CHAPTER X.

THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH THE EAST.

Authorities.

Sources:—

THOSE enumerated at the beginning of Chapter II, with the addition of ENNODIUS and CASSIODORUS for the affairs of Theodoric, the letters of Popes GELASIUS and HORMISDAS, and the ACTS OF THE COUNCILS (in Mansi, vol. viii) for the history of the Schism. BOOK IV. CH. 10.

Guides:—

Finlay ('Greece under Foreign Dominion,' vol. i.) has some interesting remarks on Anastasius, whom upon the whole he admires. Milman ('History of Latin Christianity,' vol. i.) draws a striking picture of the Emperor Anastasius and the Monophysite controversy. Canon Rawlinson, in his 'Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy,' gives us an excellent history of the wars between Persia and the Empire. But our best guide, and one who unfortunately leaves us after this point, is Tillemont.

[Professor Bury's very careful 'History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene,' was, unfortunately for me, not published till after the appearance of these volumes.]

FOR seven-and-twenty years—that is to say, for three-quarters of its whole duration—the reign of Theodoric ran parallel to that of Anastasius, the handsome but elderly officer of the household[1] whom, as

491-518. Seven-and-twenty years' reign of

[1] Anastasius was a Silentiarius before his accession to the throne. Procopius (De Bello Pers. ii. 21) describes these officers as men whose business it was to watch over the Emperor's rest in the palace (βασιλεῖ μὲν ἀεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετῶν . . . Σιλεντιαρίους Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη ἐπίκειται).

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the Emperor Anastasius.

we have already seen, the favour of Ariadne, widow of Zeno, raised to the imperial throne. The character of the man who was still, probably, in the view of all the provincial populations, the only legitimate ruler in the lands west of the Euphrates, could not but seriously affect, for good or for evil, the fortunes of Theodoric and of the new realm which he was founding; and, upon the whole, it may be said that the influence exerted upon them by Anastasius was for good.

Contradictory characters of this Emperor,

There are few sovereigns of whom more contradictory characters are given than those which the historians of the period—chiefly eclesiastical historians—have drawn of Anastasius. Avaricious and generous; base and noble: one who sold the offices of the state to the highest bidder; one who found the custom of so selling them in existence and resolutely suppressed it: a destroyer of the resources of the provinces; a careful cherisher of those resources,—such are some of the contradictory qualities assigned to him in the pages of these writers. Even his personal appearance has not altogether escaped from this perplexing variety of portraiture. While Cedrenus tells us of the lofty stature, the vivid blue eyes, and the white hair of the noble-looking Silentiarius, to whom Ariadne gave her hand and the imperial crown, Zonaras declares that his two eyes were of different colours, the left black and the right blue, and that hence he derived his surname of Dicorus.

and of his religious position.

As to his religious opinions, some authors say (or hint) that he was a Manichean, others an Arian, others an Eutychian,—a set of statements about as consistent with each other as if a modern statesman

were represented as at once an Agnostic, an Ultramontane, and a Calvinist. The truth appears to be that Anastasius was not at first an eager partisan of any of the theological fashions (it were giving them too high honour to call them faiths) which distracted the dioceses of the East. He was himself inclined to Eutychianism,—that form of doctrine which exalted the Divinity of Jesus Christ at the expense of his true Humanity; but if I read his actions aright, he wished to reign in that spirit of toleration for all faiths which had been the glory of the reign of Valentinian I. more than a century before him, and which was to be the glory of the reign of his great Gothic contemporary Theodoric. Events, however, were too strong for him. Scarcely anything is harder than to preserve perfect fairness and toleration towards men who are themselves intolerant and unfair. Thus, as time went on, Anastasius began to press more heavily on the adherents of Chalcedon than on their opponents. The bishops of that way of thinking began to find themselves driven from their sees, perhaps on insufficient pretences. The mob of Constantinople, sensitive on behalf of the faith of Chalcedon, took the alarm. There were tumults, bloodshed, even armed rebellion. The majesty of the purple was degraded. Anastasius became a partisan, and a partisan of the unpopular cause. Before he died, he, whose chief ambition it had apparently been to serve the state well as a civil ruler, and to let theology take care of itself, had the sad conviction that he was known to most of his subjects only as the hard and bitter persecutor of that form of theology which attracted their ignorant but enthusiastic allegiance.

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We know him chiefly through the ecclesiastical historians.

Hence, no doubt, from the position occupied by this Emperor in Church affairs flow those strangely diverging currents of testimony as to his character which have been commented upon above. We have unfortunately hardly any information as to the civil transactions of his reign from a secular historian. No Priscus, and no Procopius[1], tells us how the transactions of this Emperor in peace and war were viewed by the statesmen of his day. We have only from the ecclesiastical writers the history of the wild war-dance performed round his venerable figure by monks and priests, archimandrites and patriarchs, some shouting 'Anathema to the Council of Chalcedon!' and others 'Anathema to Eutyches, to Zeno, to Acacius! Away with the men who communicated with Peter the Stammerer! Away with the Manichean Emperor!' The shriek of the latter, the Chalcedonian party, reaches the ears of posterity in the more piercing tones, because it has in the end won the prize of a character for orthodoxy, but we can also distinguish some notes of the war-cry of its enemies[2], and they help us in some measure to understand why and how the aged and tolerant Emperor was forced into acts which his calumniators represent as worthy of Herod or Diocletian.

His financial administration.

To Anastasius as a financial administrator the historian can, with but little hesitation, assign a high place among the rulers of the Empire. Procopius, who styles him 'the most provident and most

[1] Except a short and rapid summary of the Persian Wars of Anastasius given by Procopius, De Bello Pers. i. 7–10.

[2] Preserved, though in a very modified form, in the History of Evagrius.

economical of all the Emperors,' tells us that at his death the imperial treasury contained 320,000 pounds of gold (£14,400,000), all collected[1] 'during the twenty-seven years of his reign[2]. Yet, at least in one instance, the Emperor had not increased but lessened the weight of taxation on his subjects. This was the case of the tax called *Chrysargyron*, which had been first imposed, some say, by Constantine[3], and which seems to have been a licence-tax levied once in four years[4] on all who lived by any kind of trade. From the manner of its collection it pressed with extreme severity on small hucksters and others of the poorest class; and it also seemed to give the State's sanction to vice, since it was levied upon prostitutes and others who traded only upon immorality. These perhaps paid their Chrysargyron more readily than any other class, feeling that they thereby purchased indemnity for their evil courses[5]. The tax had long been de-

His abolition of the Chrysargyron.

[1] According to one reading *οὐδενὶ νόμῳ*, 'under no law;' according to another *οὐδενὶ πόνῳ*, 'with no trouble.' Neither reading gives a very satisfactory sense (Anecdota, 19, p. 113).

[2] This statement may be compared with that as to the 130,000 lbs. of gold collected for and wasted upon the Vandal expedition by Leo (see vol. ii. p. 446).

[3] Zosimus asserts this and Evagrius passionately denies it.

[4] Tillemont argues that it was the same as the *lustralis collatio*, and was collected once in *five* years.

[5] Upon the nature of the Chrysargyron, which is not very clearly explained by contemporary authors, the following somewhat doubtful testimony is given by the late writer Cedrenus (eleventh century):—

'Now the Chrysargyron was this sort of tax. Every poor man and beggar, every prostitute and repudiated wife, every slave and freedman, made a contribution to the treasury for the excrement of their cattle and their dogs, whether in the city or the field. Men and women each paid a silver coin (? denarius): the same was paid on behalf of a horse, a mule, and an ox: for an ass or

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nounced by statesmen and divines, and now (in the year 501 [1]) Anastasius determined that it should cease. When he had gone through the form of obtaining the sanction of the Senate to its abolition, he burned in the Circus, in the presence of all the people, the rolls containing the names of the persons liable to the tax. Still, however, as Anastasius well knew, there was one class of men who viewed the abolition with regret. These were the clerks in the office of the Chrysargyron, whose employment, one of the most distinguished in the whole civil service [2], was taken from them by the reform. Fearing that under his successors the tax might, on the representation of these men, be revived, he took a precaution which, though ingenious, showed some of that not very imperial quality of slyness which we can discern also in his ecclesiastical proceedings, and which partly accounts for the bitterness with which his outwitted theological opponents have persecuted his memory. Inviting the officers who had been charged with the collection of the Chrysargyron to meet him at the palace, he delivered an oration, in which he professed to regret his hasty abolition of the tax, and his rash destruction of the documents connected with it. After all, said he, it was desirable to have some records of the manner of collecting an impost which, at any

His artifice to prevent its reimposition.

a dog the payment was six *folles*. Great was the wailing both in city and country on account of the pitiless way in which the collectors exacted this tax.'

[1] So says Theophanes, p. 123 c. (ed. 1655).

[2] As Evagrius says, their 'commission' (στρατεία) was one only held by gentlemen (οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἀνδρῶν). In consequence of the fiction that the Emperor was a general, every post, even in the civil service, held under him was a στρατεία.

time, the necessities of the State might compel him to revive. If therefore the worthy *numerarii* before him had among their private papers any such documents, the Emperor would thank them to bring such papers to him, and would reward them handsomely for doing so. On a given day the revenue officers met the Emperor again. The papers were given up and paid for. 'Are there any more?' he asked. 'None, gracious lord,' replied all the officers, and swore it by the Emperor's life. 'Then now shall all be destroyed,' said the Emperor, who burned them at once in the presence of all, and threw even the ashes of the rolls into running water. So intent was he on the thorough performance of the act by which he

> 'took the tax away,
> And built himself an everlasting name[1].'

Commutation of the imperial tithes.

Some of the other financial measures carried by Anastasius are spoken of in more doubtful terms. One of them seems to have been[2] the commutation of the tithes payable in kind from the cultivator to the treasury for a fixed money-payment, which, according to Evagrius, was calculated on an oppressive scale[3]. Of course if the commutation was unfair the measure cannot be defended; but, in itself, the principle of allowing the *possessor* to sell his corn to the nearest

[1] This story concerning Anastasius is well illustrated by a bas-relief recently discovered in the Forum at Rome. At the command of an Emperor, probably Trajan, the servants of the Exchequer are bearing a great number of rolls of parchment—probably the registers showing the arrears due from defaulting tax-payers—and are burning them in the fire.

[2] Evagrius, iii. 42. The passage is very obscure.

[3] Lydus (De Mag. iii. 61) seems to attribute this change to John of Cappadocia, under Justinian.

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purchaser, and bring the tenth part of the gold representing it into the treasury, was a good one.

Modification of the Curial system.

Another reform was the abolition, at least the partial abolition, of the curial system [1]. We are told that he took away the collection of taxes from the local senates [2], and sent instead officers called *Vindices* [3] to each city, charged with the execution of this duty: 'Whereby the revenues in great part came to grief, and the glory of the cities departed. For [under the old system] the nobles [4] were inscribed each in the album [5] of his city, and thus every city had its own council, with defined and well-ascertained powers.' So says Evagrius, writing a century after the accession of Anastasius, when it was perhaps not easy to discriminate exactly between his work and that of his successors. From the history of the Curies, as far as we have been able to trace it, one would be inclined to say that the abolition of these local senates must in itself have been a wise and righteous measure. Their 'glory' was but a bright robe covering deep and cruel wounds. Overcharged with terrible responsibilities, and with scarcely any real power, they stood helpless in presence of the imperial despotism, with whose rapacity they were unable to cope; and thus the privilege of having one's name inscribed in their rolls, once an eagerly-sought distinction, had become a most intolerable burden. The Curies were in fact bankrupt, and the *curiales* were no longer shareholders in a flourishing enterprise, but contributories struggling to evade their liability.

[1] Compare vol. ii. pp. 576–596.

[2] Βουλευτήρια.

[3] Βίνδικες.

[4] Εὐπατρίδαι.

[5] Ἐν λευκώμασι.

In these circumstances, to sweep away the Curies with their system of ruthlessly enforced 'joint and several liability' for the taxes of the district was probably an act of mercy. Still it was a step towards centralisation. The Vindices were not local officers, but received their commission direct from the imperial treasury. In the days of financial pressure which were approaching, when Justinian's wars, his wife, and his architects had well-nigh beggared the Empire, and when the chief concern of the ruler was how to wring the last *solidus* out of the exhausted tax-payer, it may be that the vindex of the Emperor was found more efficacious than the old-fashioned *duumvir* of the Curia. But the blame for this oppression must rest, not on Anastasius, who remodelled the taxing-machine of the State, but on Justinian, who wasted the revenues provided by it.

A change, good in itself, but which tended towards centralisation.

Other traits of the character of this Emperor seem to disclose a generous and sympathetic nature. Even his enemies attest his habit of abundant almsgiving, both before and after his elevation to the throne. And to any city in his dominions which had suffered from hostile invasion he was wont to grant a remission of all taxes for the space of seven years.

Generosity of Anastasius.

Among the great works which signalised the reign of Anastasius was the construction of a wall, more than fifty miles long, drawn from the Sea of Marmora to the Euxine, at a distance of about thirty-five miles from the capital. The wall was apparently strengthened by a fosse, which was really a navigable canal uniting the two seas[1]. This Great Wall of Anastasius

Building of the long wall, 510.

[1] So I understand the words of Evagrius, iii. 38, who says that the Macron Teichos stretched like a πορθμός from sea to sea, and

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played an important part in the defence of Constantinople for many centuries, giving as it did to the capital, so long as it was kept in good repair, all the strength of an insular position.

Isaurian War, 492-497.

The Isaurian war (which has been described in a previous chapter[1]), waged against the brother and the countrymen of Zeno, occupied five years at the beginning of the reign of Anastasius. Then, after a peaceful interval of five years, came four years of war with Persia. The peace between the two great monarchies of the Eastern world, which had lasted for sixty years, was at length broken by the King of Kings. Kobad[2], who mounted the Persian throne in 487, was under great obligations, both moral and pecuniary, to his barbarous neighbours on the northern frontier, the Ephthalites, or so-called White Huns, by whose aid he had been twice enabled to win or to recover his crown. To enable him to discharge the material obligation, he applied to Anastasius for a sum of money, which was, according to one account, to be a loan, according to another the repayment of an old debt, for expenses incurred on the joint account of the two civilised Empires in defending the passes of the Caucasus from the barbarians. Under whatever name the request was made it was refused by Anastasius, and Kobad prepared for war. In the first year of the war the Persians, after a stubborn resistance, took the great city of

Persian War, 502-505.

502-3.

Fall of Amida.

made an island of the country round Constantinople. But the usual interpretation which understands Evagrius to be speaking merely of the military protection afforded by the wall is perhaps the sounder one. Finlay says that 'traces of the wall are still visible about twenty feet broad' (History of Greece, i. 181).

[1] See chap. ii.

[2] The Cabades of Procopius.

Amida, the capital of the Roman territory on the upper waters of the Tigris. An army, or rather four armies under virtually independent commanders, were despatched by Anastasius to the seat of war. From want of co-operation and want of generalship these four armies effected little or nothing, blundering into a victory here and a defeat there, but on the whole losing ground before the able strategy of Kobad[1]. It might perhaps have gone hard with the opulent cities of Syria but for the fortunate circumstance that Kobad himself was forced to return to defend his territory against the barbarians on the Oxus; and in his absence his generals fought as badly as those of Rome. The siege of Amida was vigorously pressed by the generals 505.
of Anastasius, and the Persians must in a very few days have surrendered it from want of provisions, when messengers came from Kobad proposing a peaceful settlement. If Anastasius would pay £40,000 Amida should be restored to him, and all should be again as it was before the war. The Roman generals accepted these terms, and did not discover till too

Amida bought back and peace concluded.

[1] It must be, I think, by some inadvertence that Milman (Hist. of Latin Christianity, i. 243) speaks of the Emperor as having shared these campaigns in person. There is no trace of such a statement in Procopius, and it is improbable that a sovereign, seventy-four years of age, should expose himself to the perils and hardships of such an enterprise. Milman refers to a certain Persian painter who decorated the walls of the palace with Manichean emblems, and whom, he thinks, Anastasius brought with him from the East. But Cedrenus (a very late writer), who is the authority for this story, says: 'Anastasius brought *from Cyzicus* [in Mysia] a certain Manichean painter in the habit of a priest, who dared to paint fantastic figures, unlike the holy ecclesiastical effigies, in the palace' (i. pp. 629, 630, ed. Bonn).

BOOK IV. CH. 10. late that Amida, which their master had bought for 1000 pounds of gold, was really theirs by right of conquest. However, the peace, which was concluded for seven years, lasted for one-and-twenty, and was doubtless a great advantage to both Empires.

The recovered city of Amida was so generously assisted by the Emperor that it soon seemed to flourish even more than it had done before the war broke out. Upon the whole, the Persian war, if it had not brought any great glory, had not brought shame on the arms of Anastasius.

505. Transactions with Theodoric.

In the year in which the Persian war ended, occurred the first passage of arms between the troops of Anastasius and those of Theodoric. This will therefore be the most suitable opportunity for reviewing the notices, scanty and scattered as they are, of the intercourse between the two monarchs.

Embassy of Faustus, 493.

We know from ecclesiastical history that in the year 493 Faustus, who was then Master of the Offices, was sent along with Irenaeus (like himself an Illustris) to Constantinople on the King's business, and that, on their return to Rome, Faustus did his utmost to heal the schism between the Churches by representing to Pope Gelasius the injury to the cause of orthodoxy which resulted from his insisting on the damnation of Acacius, whose memory was dear both to sovereign and people at Byzantium.

Gelasius's haughty letter to the Emperor.

The only result of their representations, however, was a long and somewhat haughty letter from Gelasius to the Emperor, excusing himself for not having written before, assuring him that Gelasius as a Roman loved and venerated the Roman sovereign, but reminding him that there were two powers by which the

world was governed, the sacred authority of pontiffs and the power of kings. 'Of these two, so much the weightier is the office of the priest inasmuch as he has to give account for kings also in the day of the Divine judgment. You know, most clement son, that though you excel all the rest of the human race in dignity, you must nevertheless meekly bow the neck to the chief stewards of the Divine mysteries when you receive the sacraments at their hands, and in the affairs of the Church it is for you to obey, not to command. . . . It is vain to say that the populace of Constantinople will not bear the condemnation of their late bishop. You have repressed their turbulence at the games: can you not in this matter, which concerns the good of souls, exert the same authority? . . . Let them call the Apostolic See proud and arrogant: they are herein only like a sick man who blames the doctor that uses sharp measures for his restoration to health. If we are proud who do but obey the teaching of the Fathers, what are they to be called who resist us and fight against Divinity itself?' Certainly the pretensions advanced by Pope Felix were not abated by his successor. We do not hear what reply the Emperor made to this lordly letter.

We can hardly be wrong in supposing that the two ambassadors just mentioned, Faustus and Irenaeus, were sent by Theodoric to announce his final triumph over Odovacar, and to claim the ratification of the bargain made with Zeno, that Italy, if thus conquered, should be, perhaps, abandoned by the Empire, at any rate recognised as the possession of Theodoric. Apparently, however, the embassy was not successful. Anastasius was offended at Theodoric's haste

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in declaring himself king of the Romans as well as the Goths in the land of Italy, and perhaps refused to be bound by the undefined promises of his predecessor.

Embassy of Festus, 497,

Again therefore, in the year 497, was an embassy sent to Constantinople. This time the royal envoy was the Patrician Festus, and he was accompanied by two bishops, Germanus and Cresconius, who bore a letter from the Pope. Gelasius was now dead, and the chair of St. Peter was filled by an Anastasius, namesake of the Caesar of Byzantium—a man of gentle and peaceable disposition, eager to end the quarrel which reflected so little credit on either of the two Churches. The letter of Anastasius the Pope to Anastasius the Emperor bore willing testimony to the virtues and the piety which the latter had displayed in a private station, and, though still not surrendering the indispensable damnation of the unfortunate Acacius, offered to recognise the validity of all orders conferred by the laying on of his hands. The ecclesiastical difference seemed in a fair way of being settled, and probably the conciliatory temper of the bishops smoothed the path for their colleague the Patrician. For (to quote again the words of the Anonymus Valesii transcribed in a former chapter [1]) 'Theodoric made his peace with the Emperor Anastasius, through the mediation of Festus, for his unauthorised assumption of the royal title [2]. The Emperor also restored to him all the ornaments of the palace which Odoachar had transmitted to Constantinople.'

and pacific letter from *Pope* Anastasius.

[1] p. 265.

[2] 'Facta pace de praesumptione regni.'

Peace ratified between King and Emperor.

Thus, then, peace and friendship are established, on paper as well as in fact, between Ravenna and Constantinople, and Theodoric is formally recognised as, in some sense or other, legitimate ruler in Italy. What was the precise relation thus established between the two monarchs I must give up the attempt to explain. I see no statement of a formal abandonment by the Empire of the sacred soil of Italy; yet neither do I see any formal recognition by Theodoric that he was governing it in the Emperor's name, or that the latter was his superior. To me the whole matter seems to have been purposely left vague, as is so often the case when Fact and Law are felt by all parties to be hopelessly at variance with one another. A spectator of modern politics, who feels his inability to explain the precise legal relation of the Hapsburg monarch to the Sultan in respect to Bosnia, of the Queen of England to the same potentate in respect to Cyprus and Egypt, or even the exact nature of the tie which unites the Emperor of Germany to his crowned partners, or vassals, of Bavaria and Saxony, need not be ashamed to confess that he cannot absolutely decide whether Theodoric was dependent or independent of the Emperor of the New Rome.

Their exact relation probably left undefined.

Extent of Theodoric's dominions.

Whatever may have been the exact title assumed by Theodoric, or the moral limits of his power, there is no doubt that geographically it extended far beyond the country which we call Italy. Of his Gaulish dominions enough has been already said. Raetia, including the eastern half of Switzerland, Tyrol, and Bavaria south of the Danube, theoretically formed part of his kingdom, though in practice, as we have seen, the somewhat loosely subordinated Alamanni

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soon occupied most of the lands between the Alps and the Black Forest. In Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyricum, the whole that is of the modern Austrian Empire south and west of the Danube, Theodoric was regarded as the legitimate successor of the Emperors of the West. It is a question, which we have no means of solving, how far Rugians, Heruli, and Gepidac may practically have limited his dominions in this direction; but it is important to remember that, at any rate after the compact of 497, the Emperor of the East had no claim to rule directly in those countries any more than in Ravenna. Illyricum evidently was Theodoric's in fact, as well as in right. All that island-studded coast of Dalmatia, Diocletian's vast palace at Salona, and the highlands behind, which we now call Bosnia and Herzegovina, were really held by the strength of the Goths, and administered in accordance with the erudite rescripts of Cassiodorus. The frontier of the two monarchies was apparently that settled in the year 395 between the two sons of Theodosius[1]; and thus Dyrrhachium, the birth-place of the Emperor Anastasius, was only some fifty miles south of that part of the Dalmatian coast-line which owned the sway of the great Ostrogoth.

The War of Sirmium 504.

This being the extent of Theodoric's rights in the Illyrian lands, he determined in 504 to vindicate them by a campaign against his old enemies the Gepidae. Doubtless he had not forgotten that hard fight by the river Ulca, when his people found their passage barred by the inhospitable King; but now, with his new rights, he found an additional grievance in the fact

[1] See vol. i. p. 677 (Note H, On the Division of Illyricum). See also the map at vol. i. p. 237.

that Sirmium, one of the greatest cities in the whole Illyrian Prefecture, was held by the Gepid barbarians. The ruins of this great provincial capital lie near to Mitrovitz on the Save, in the extreme east of the modern province of Sclavonia. Nevertheless, from the point of view then taken, Bishop Ennodius was right in speaking of it to the King as 'the threshhold of Italy, in which the senators aforetime used to watch lest the neighbouring nations gathered round should inflict their deadly wounds on the body of the Roman people[1].' It was no alleviation of the calamity, says the Bishop, that the loss of this city had not happened under Theodoric's rule. It ought again to belong to Italy, and, till it was recovered, his honour felt a stain.

There seems to have been division in the councils of the Gepid nation, one part following Trasaric the son of Trastila (the king whom Theodoric had defeated at the river Ulca), and the other following a certain Gunderith. Trasaric asked Theodoric's help against his rival, perhaps promised him Sirmium as a recompense. In course of time the Gothic King found that the promises of the Gepid were only made to be broken, and sent an army consisting of some of his noblest young Gothic warriors against him. Pitzias was leader of this expedition: the next in command was named Herduic. Tulum[2], a young Gothic noble employed in the household of the King, first made

504.

Trasaric the Gepid deceives Theodoric.

Gothic warriors. Pitzias.

Tulum.

[1] 'Sirmiensium civitas olim limes Italiae fuit, in qua seniores domini excubabant, ne coacervata illinc finitimarum vulnera gentium in Romanum corpus excurrerent' (Ennod. Paneg. p. 173, ed. Migne).

[2] Otherwise called Tulun.

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504. Witigis.

himself famous in this campaign. So too did a Gothic stripling named Witigis, who earned a reputation for valour in this campaign which was hereafter to be more fatal to his countrymen than the most pitiful display of cowardice could possibly have proved.

Gepidae and Bulgarians defeated by the Goths.

It is impossible to extract any details as to this war of Sirmium from the vapid rhetoric of Ennodius or the jejune sentences of Jordanes. All that can be said is, that, though the Gepidae had procured the assistance of the Bulgarians—that new and terrible nationality which had lately shown itself on the banks of the Lower Danube [1]—Theodoric's generals obtained a victory—an easy victory we are told—over the allied barbarians. Trasaric was expelled from Sirmium, and his mother, the widow of the inhospitable Trastila, was taken captive by Pitzias [2]. In his treatment of the recovered city the general was careful to show that he looked upon it as a lost prize regained, not as an alien possession conquered. All tendency to ravage on the part of the soldiers was sternly checked, and the Sirmian citizens, when the standard of Theodoric was planted in their citadel, could again rejoice in the long-lost luxury of 'the Roman peace.'

Sirmium recovered.

Mundo the Hun attacked by the Roman general Sabinian.

This appearance of a Gothic army so near the frontier line of Theodoric and Anastasius not unnaturally brought their forces into collision. There was a certain Mundo, a son or grandson of Attila, who had fled from the face of the Gepidae, and was

[1] Cassiodori Chronicon (s. a. 504): 'Hoc Cos. virtute D. N. regis Theodorici *victis Bulgaribus* Syrmium recepit Italia.'

[2] 'Pitzamum quoque suum comitem et inter primos electum ad obtinendam Sirmiensem dirigit civitatem. Quam ille expulso rege ejus Trasarico, filio Trapstilae, retenta ejus matre obtinuit' (Jordanes, De Reb. Get. lviii).

wandering through the valleys of what we now call Servia, at the head of a band of marauders, of whom, as Jordanes contemptuously says, he called himself king[1]. Against this prince of freebooters the Emperor sent the general Sabinian, son and namesake of Theodoric's old antagonist. Ten thousand men marched under his standards, and a long train of waggons carried the arms and rations of the soldiers[2]. Mundo, on the point of being overpowered, invoked the assistance of the Goths, and Pitzias descended from the mountains of Bosnia to his aid. The battle was joined in the valley of the Morava, at a place called Horrea Margi[3]. If we may believe Jordanes, the Ostrogothic reinforcements consisted of only 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry. If we may believe Ennodius, the Bulgarians were again opposed to them, employed by the subtle Greeks as a bulwark to break the first fury of their onset[4]. Perhaps, on putting the two accounts side by side, and observing that Marcellinus the chronicler (who acknowledges the defeat of the Imperial troops by Mundo without any reserve) makes no mention of the Ostrogoths on one side nor of the Bulgarians on the other, we may conclude that the arrangement between the confederates was that Mundo the Hun should deal with Sabinian and the troops of the

505.

Asks help from the Goths.

[1] 'Nam hic Mundo de Attilanis quondam origine descendens . . . ultra Danubium in incultis locis sine ullis terrae cultoribus debacchatur, et plerisque abactoribus scamarisque [?] et latronibus undecunque collectis . . . regem se suis grassatoribus fecerat.'

[2] Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 505.

[3] Near Morava Hissar. Jordanes calls it 'Margo planum, inter Danubium Margumque flumina.'

[4] These, however, may have been included in Sabinianus' army of 10,000.

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Empire, while Pitzias with his disciplined Goths broke the fierce onset of the Bulgarians.

The Gothic general saw from afar the barbarian host rushing to the battle, and lashed the eager spirits of his own young warriors into fury by his impassioned words[1]. 'Remember, my comrades, by whose order you have marched hither. We fight for the fame of our King, and let each man deem that his eyes are upon us. If a whole shower of lances darkened the sky the valiant warrior would still be visible. Plunge your breasts into that line of steel, that by your carelessness of life the victory may be assured. Have these men forgotten Theodoric? Is there not one living still who remembers how his mighty arm smote them long ago? Or do they think that Theodoric is unlike his people? They shall find that we can fight as well as our King.'

Speech of the Gothic general to his men.

The battle, by the account of the conquerors themselves, was a hardly-fought one. Neither Bulgarians nor Goths would believe that it could be possible for a foe to resist the fury of their onset[2]. But at length the desperate shock and counter-shock were over. It was seen that the Bulgarians were beaten, and with loud lamentations they, who boasted that they had never before turned their backs before an enemy[3], streamed from the lost battle-field.

Defeat of the Bulgarians.

[1] The reader must excuse some turgid sentences. I am translating—as far as it is possible to translate—Ennodius.

[2] 'Concurrebant duae nationes, quibus nunquam inter gladios fuga subvenerat: miratae sunt mutuo sui similes inveniri, et in humano genere vel Gothos resistentem videre vel Bulgares' (Ennod. Paneg. xii).

[3] But Cassiodorus says that Sirmium in the previous war had been taken from the Bulgarians. I do not pretend to reconcile the two accounts.

505. Flight of the imperial troops.

Sabinian fled in terror when he saw the discomfiture of his confederates. Pitzias, we are told, that he might not incur the imputation of avarice, forbade his soldiers to strip the bodies of the slain, and left them to the dogs and the vultures. The very chivalry of these days was barbarous. We hear no more of Mundo, but Theodoric's courtier takes pride in declaring that 'the Roman realm has returned to its ancient limit. Once again, as in the days of old, the Sirmians are taught to obey: the neighbours who have hitherto been keeping back our possessions from us' (apparently the Eastern Emperors) 'are now made to tremble for their own territories[1].'

Raid of Byzantine war-ships on the Apulian coast, 508.

Three years after the war with Mundo, we find the ships of Byzantium making a piratical raid on the Apulian coast. Our information as to this affair comes entirely from a chronicler of the Eastern Empire (Marcellinus Comes), and he very honestly condemns an operation so unworthy of a Roman Emperor. His words are these: 'Romanus Count of the Domestics, and Rusticus Count of the Scholarii, with one hundred armed ships and as many cutters bearing eight thousand armed men, went forth to ravage the coasts of Italy. They proceeded as far as the very ancient city of Tarentum, and then, recrossing the sea, bore back to Anastasius Caesar [the news of] this inglorious victory which, with pirate-daring, Romans had snatched from Romans.'

As we hear no more of raids or revenges between the two states we may perhaps conclude that the

[1] 'Interea ad limitem suam Romana regna remearunt: dictas more veterum praecepta Sirmiensibus: de suis per vicinitatem tuam dubitant, qui hactenus nostra tenuerunt.'

BOOK IV. CH. 10. complaints of Theodoric and the condemnation hinted by his subjects, caused Anastasius, himself at heart

508. a lover of peace, to lay aside his unfriendly attitude and to resume the peaceful intercourse which had been for three years interrupted. If so, we may possibly place about this time a letter—the first in the collection of Cassiodorus—which was borne by two ambassadors from the Court of Ravenna to that of Constantinople[1]. In that letter, Theodoric, or rather Cassiodorus writing in his name, complains, in well-chosen and weighty words, of the interruption of friendly relations with 'the most clement Emperor.' He praises the condition of Peace: Peace, the fair mother of all noble arts, the nurse of the succeeding generations, by whom the race of man is prolonged, who is the softener of savage manners. Theodoric himself learnt 'in your republic' how to govern Romans with a mild and equal sway. His kingdom is meant to be an imitation of the Emperor's: the Senate who are the Emperor's friends are his also; and his love for the venerable city of Rome is or ought to be another powerful link between them. The two republics, which under earlier sovereigns were always looked upon as forming one body, ought to be not only not discordant but bound to one another by bonds of love, ought not merely to love, but actively and vigorously to help one another. With words of courtly greeting to the 'most glorious charity of your Mildness,' but words which seem carefully framed to convey compliments only, without any recognition of real superiority, Theodoric concludes by referring the Emperor to his ambassadors for fuller information as to his feelings.

Letter to Anastasius, 509 (?).

[1] Cass. Var. i. 1.

Either on this occasion, or another of his numerous embassies to the Eastern Court, Theodoric sent Agapetus (Patrician and Illustris) to represent him. In the letter charging him with this appointment[1] he is informed that, for such a commission as his, it is necessary that 'a man of eminent prudence be selected, one who can dispute with persons of the keenest subtlety, and so manage as not to lose his cause in an assembly of literati, where the best-trained intellects of the world will come against him. Great art is required in dealing with these artful men, who think that they can anticipate every argument that you can employ[2].'

Skill required in an ambassador to the Eastern Court.

It is possible that among these word-fencers whom the ambassadors of Theodoric had to contend with, there may have been a man whose name is memorable in the history of the Latin tongue, Priscian the Grammarian. We possess a poem of his in praise of Anastasius, written in flowing hexameters, much above the ordinary level of the Latinity of his times. The descent of the Emperor from Pompey the Great, his Isaurian victories, his abolition of the Chrysargyron, his establishment of public granaries, his repression of the factions of the Circus, are all duly commemorated. One of the titles given to the Emperor (besides Isauricus and Parthicus) is Gotthicus, a circumstance which seems to point to a date after the outbreak of hostilities with Theodoric for the delivery of the oration. And in the poem occur the following remarkable lines, which indicate that then, at any rate,

Priscian the Grammarian then at Constantinople.

His praise of the Emperor.

[1] Cass. Var. ii. 6.

[2] 'Magna ars est contra artifices loqui, et apud illos aliquid agere qui se putant omnia praevidere.'

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notwithstanding all the optimism of Cassiodorus, there were some Romans disposed to look upon the Emperor, not the King, as their natural sovereign and protector:—

'But of all acts our grateful praise that claim,
Two, mighty Prince! most illustrate your name.
The first, your choice of rulers for the land,
And then, your goodness to the exiled band.
All of her sons whom Elder Rome may send
You greet, you succour, as a fostering friend.
Step after step they mount in your employ,
Till grief for their lost country turns to joy.
Fortune and life to you, great lord, they owe,
And night and day for you their prayers shall flow[1].'

Troubles of Anastasius at home.

But whatever disposition Anastasius may have felt to trade upon the doubtful loyalty of the Romans towards a Gothic ruler, the increasing discontent of his own subjects towards the end of his reign found him employment enough, without his engaging in any further contests with Theodoric. We must now plunge therefore into those dreary theological faction-fights which were briefly referred to at the commencement of the chapter.

Religious condition of the Empire.

The state of ecclesiastical parties in the Empire throughout this whole period was most peculiar, and was enough to strain the powers and the patience of the wisest and the most enduring of rulers.

[1] 'Omnia sed superest, Princeps, praeconia vestra
Propositum sapiens, quo fidos eligis aulae
Custodes, per quos Romana potentia crescat,
Et quo, Roma vetus misit quoscunque, benigne
Sustentas, omni penitus ratione fovendo,
Provehis et gradibus praeclaris laetus honorum
Ne damni patriae sensus fiantve dolores,
Fortunam quare tibi debent atque salutem
Votaque suscipiunt pro te noctesque diesque.'

There was Egypt, venerating the memory of Cyril above all other ecclesiastics, cherishing, if not venerating, the name of Eutyches, set upon maintaining to the uttermost the doctrine of the unity of the nature of Jesus Christ, who, they maintained, as God was born, as God was crucified.

Egypt.

Syria, which had given birth to the opposite doctrine, that of Nestorius (whose denial that Mary was rightly called 'the Mother of God' had brought about all this controversy), fluctuated still between Nestorianism and Monophysitism in the strangest and most bewildering uncertainty.

Syria.

At Constantinople the populace, led by a rabble of fanatical monks, were attached with incomprehensible fervour of loyalty, not to Eutychianism, not to Nestorianism, but to the very name of the Council of Chalcedon, which excommunicated both, and proclaimed the narrow Via Media of orthodoxy between them. Middle ways do not generally thus enlist the passions of a religious mob in their behalf. But so it was, that throughout the reign of Anastasius, if at any time words were used by a person in a prominent position which seemed to reflect on 'the Synod of the Six Hundred and Thirty' (the number of fathers who met at Chalcedon), blood might be expected soon to flow in the streets of Constantinople.

Constantinople.

The mob Chalcedonian.

The upper classes seem at this time to have been generally Monophysite, or at least strongly attached to the Henoticon of Zeno. They probably felt the danger of dismembering the Empire which would be incurred by crushing the fanaticism of Alexandria by the fanaticism of Constantinople.

The nobles Monophysite.

And Rome, the seat of Peter, and still in a certain

Rome.

sense, notwithstanding her barbarian rulers, the capital of the Empire? Rome seemed at this time to have no ears for the original controversy; so set was she on maintaining the damnation of Acacius, who had dared to excommunicate a pope. Of course she was out of communion with Monophysite Alexandria, but then she was equally out of communion with orthodox Constantinople, which held fast by the Council of Chalcedon and venerated the Tome of Leo, but which would not strike the name of Acacius out of her diptychs. Bishop after bishop of that see suffered persecution and exile for maintaining the faith of Chalcedon against the Monophysite Emperor; but as they would not admit that Acacius was inevitably damned, Rome, the champion of Chalcedon, would have none of them.

Faith of Anastasius himself.

Anastasius, as has been already said, was probably at heart, like most of the Byzantine nobles, a Monophysite. But he was strongly suspected, and probably with truth, of the much more dangerous heresy of caring very little about the whole matter, and preferring justice and mercy and the practice of the Christian virtues to all this interminable wrangle about such questions as whether Christ ought to be said to *subsist in* two natures or to *consist of* them. While he was still in a private station, he had been accused of attending the conventicles of the heretics and yet retaining his seat in the great Catholic Basilica. Euphemius the bishop had sent for him, and sharply rebuked him for such dangerous dalliance with error, concluding the interview by a threat that, if the offence were repeated, he would cut off his hair and expose him to the derision of the mob. This

story, it should be said, rests on the doubtful authority of Suidas. It seems improbable that even the Patriarch of Constantinople would dare to use such a menace to an officer of the household, past middle life and held in high honour by the people.

The Patriarch Euphemius views him with suspicion. 491.

However, the doubt, the suspicion as to the orthodoxy of the elderly Silentiarius, devout and charitable as all tongues proclaimed him to be, remained in the mind of the Patriarch Euphemius. When Ariadne presented him to the Senate as the future Emperor, Euphemius long resisted his election, and at length, it is said, only withdrew the objection on receiving from Anastasius a written confession of his faith, in which he declared that he held as true all the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. No doubt if such a humiliating condition were enforced upon him, the remembrance of it would rankle in the mind of the new Emperor, who is said to have made the recovery of the document, either from Euphemius or his successor, the main object of his ecclesiastical policy for some years. There is some variation, however, in the accounts of this matter given by the different historians, and, as we so often find to be the case, the further they are removed from the transaction the more detailed does their information about it become. Probably the importance of the affair has been overrated by ecclesiastics.

Banishment of Euphemius, 496.

Anastasius, however, had reason enough to look coldly on Euphemius, not only as the personal enemy who had threatened to subject him to bitter humiliation, but also as the partisan, and hardly the secret partisan, of his rival the Isaurian Longinus. In the year 496, after the close of the Isaurian campaign,

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when, according to the triumphant Emperor, 'the prayers of the Patriarch had covered his friends with soot[1],' by one of those exertions of high-handed power which were becoming almost the rule at Constantinople, Anastasius deposed Euphemius from his see, and sent him into exile at Euchaita, a city of Pontus[2]. The demand for his deposition came undoubtedly from the Emperor, but it was apparently carried into effect in a regular manner by a synod of bishops, before whom Anastasius laid the proofs of the Patriarch's treasonable complicity with the Isaurian insurgents. It was, at any rate ostensibly, for political not for theological offences that Euphemius was cast down from his high place[3].

Macedonius the new Patriarch.

The new Patriarch of Constantinople was Macedonius, a gentle and sweet-souled man, too good for the days of wrangle in which he lived. Euphemius, before his departure for the solitudes of Pontus, desired to have the sworn promise of his successor that he should not be molested on his journey. Macedonius, who had the permission of the Emperor to grant this safe-conduct, was told that his predecessor was in the baptistery of the basilica, waiting for the interview.

His courtesy to Euphemius.

With generous thoughtfulness he called to a deacon and desired him to take off from his shoulders the

[1] See p. 66.

[2] So say modern geographers. I have not met with the authority for so locating it.

[3] There had been in the preceding year an attempt on the life of Euphemius, described by Theophanes, which had only just failed of success. But the authority of so late a writer is quite insufficient to connect Anastasius with this crime. The nearly contemporary Theodorus Lector, a bitter enemy of the Emperor, simply ascribes it to 'the conspirators against Euphemius' (οἱ ἐπίβουλοι Εὐφημίου).

bishop's mantle, that he might not seem to flaunt before the eyes of the fallen Patriarch the ensigns of a dignity which was no longer his. He also himself borrowed money from the usurers to provide for the travelling expenses of Euphemius and his retinue. The banished man lived on for nineteen years in exile; apparently had to change his place of abode on account of the invading Huns[1]; and died in 515 at Ancyra in Galatia. BOOK IV. CH. 10.

During the fifteen years that Macedonius governed the Church of Constantinople there was a division, growing gradually wider and wider, between him and his Emperor. At the time of his elevation he signed the Henoticon, and perhaps anathematised the Council of Chalcedon[2]. Gradually however, under the influence of the monastic and popular enthusiasm which prevailed in the capital, he 'hardened into a stern, almost a fanatic partisan of that very Council[3].' With the usual fairness of religious disputants, the man who battled on behalf of the Via Media with Eutychians was accused of himself inclining to Nestorianism. One charge made against him in this connection and much insisted upon was that, in order to support his heretical views, he had altered a letter in a celebrated passage of the New Testament[4] which has often since been the battle-field of controversy. 496-511. Macedonius becomes estranged from the Emporor.

[1] This is Tillemont's conjecture.

[2] Victor Tunnunensis asserts this, 'Macedonius . . . Synodo facta condemnat eos qui Chalcedonensis decreta Synodi suscipiunt: ut eos qui Nestorii et Eutychis defendant;' but this is very likely only a partisan way of stating that he signed the Henoticon.

[3] Milman's Latin Christianity, i. 241.

[4] 1 Tim. iii. 16. He was accused of altering ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν

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The heretical Trisagion sung in the Emperor's chapel, 511.

The increasing estrangement between the Emperor and the Patriarch, the increasing irritation of the Chalcedonian mob at the proceedings of their sovereign (who everywhere, but especially in Syria, was pressing more and more heavily on those bishops who did not accept the Henoticon), was brought to a crisis by the proceedings of a band of strangers and schismatics, who one Sunday burst into the Chapel of the Archangel in the Imperial Palace, and dared to chaunt the Te Deum with the addition of the forbidden words, the war-cry of many an Eutychian mob, 'Who wast crucified for us.' The Trisagion, as it was called, the thrice-repeated cry to the Holy One, which Isaiah in his vision heard uttered by the seraphim, became, by the addition of these words, as emphatic a statement as the Monophysite party could desire of their favourite tenet that God, not man, breathed out his soul unto death outside the gates of Jerusalem. What one party asserted with the loud voice of defiant psalmody the other party were of course bound to deny, maintaining their denial, if need were, by force. On the next Sunday the Monophysites sang the verse which was their war-cry in the great Basilica itself. Shouts were heard from the angry mob; to shouts succeeded taunts; to taunts blows and strifes. The magistrates, acting perhaps at the instigation of the Emperor,

Tumult in the church,

σαρκί into ὡς ἐ. ἐν σ. The reading in the Textus Receptus, as is well known, is Θεός: but Macedonius is not charged, as is sometimes stated, with introducing this reading, but ὡς. It is difficult to see what bearing this change would have either way, but the introduction of Θεός would hardly be charged upon a Nestorian. The passage, which is in Liberatus (Breviarium, cap. xix), is important, as showing that ὅς was the generally accepted reading in the sixth century.

loudly and fiercely upbraided Macedonius as the author of all this tumult. But there were men, well-known faction leaders, on the other side, whose presence goaded the Chalcedonian populace to fury. Chief among these was Severus, who had been throwing all Syria into confusion by his zeal for the condemnation of the synod, and who was to be rewarded for his turbulence by being seated on the episcopal throne of Antioch. It was soon seen on which side the voice of the multitude was given. A vast crowd of citizens, accompanied by their wives and children, and headed by the abbots of the orthodox monasteries, surged through the streets of Constantinople, shouting, 'Christians, lo, the day of martyrdom! Let no one abandon our father!' They hurled their insults at the Emperor himself, denouncing him as a Manichean, as unworthy to reign.

and in the city.

Anastasius, terrified at the turn which things had taken, ordered the great gates of the palace on every side to be barred, and the ships made ready for his flight. So he sat solitary in the vast enclosure, trembling at the brutal clamours which reached him from without. At length he determined to bend to the storm. Though he had sworn that he would never again look upon the face of Macedonius, he sent some trusty retainers to the Patriarch to beg him to come and salute him. As Macedonius, in that his hour of triumph, glided through the streets, the mob shouted with joy, 'Our father is still with us!' and, ominous sound for the Emperor, the soldiers of the household regiments[1], through whose ranks he passed, echoed the cry. When the Patriarch entered the

Anastasius is forced to seek a reconciliation with Macedonius.

[1] Οἱ τῶν σχολῶν.

BOOK IV. CH. 10. 511.

presence chamber, he frankly rebuked the Emperor for his alleged enmity to the Church. An apparent reconciliation was effected. The mild character of the Patriarch (who had not only forgiven but sent away with a handsome present an assassin who sought his life) made the restoration of peace an easy task.

Banishment and deposition of Macedonius, 511.

The reconciliation, however, was but superficial. The dignity of the Emperor had been too deeply wounded for it to be real. Yet, from fear of the populace, he did not dare to bring the venerated Patriarch openly to trial. He caused him to be hurried out of his palace, rowed across the Bosphorus to Chalcedon, and thence escorted to the same little town of Euchaita whither his predecessor had been conveyed fifteen years before. A council was hastily summoned, and the absent Patriarch was deposed from his see. After four years of exile at Euchaita, he was driven by a Hunnish invasion to Gangra, a town in Paphlagonia, where he shortly after died. One of his faithful followers declared that on the night of his decease the injured Patriarch appeared to him, having in his hand a roll, and saying, 'Depart hence, and read what is here written to Anastasius.' In the roll was written, 'I indeed depart to my fathers, whose faith I too have kept. But I shall not cease to importune the Lord until thou comest, that the cause between us two may be brought to judgment.'

His death, 515.

The last seven years of Anastasius (511-518) the worst part

Anastasius in fact survived Macedonius three years, but he lived somewhat too long for his fame. The irregular and illegal deposition of the Patriarch is one of the worst acts that can be laid to his charge; and

the remaining seven years of his life were poisoned by the results which flowed from it—an ever-increasing unpopularity with his Byzantine subjects, and an ever-dwindling hope of seeing the fires of religious faction dying out and peace restored to the Empire. Again, in the year after the expulsion of Macedonius, the terrible war-cry of the corrupted Trisagion sounded through the streets of Constantinople. It was on a memorable day that the flames of religious war were thus rekindled. The 6th of November in every year was kept as a solemn fast, in memory of that awful day in 472 when the heaven at Constantinople was blackened with the ashes of Vesuvius [1], while half the cities of Asia Minor were rocking with the violence of an earthquake. On the Sunday which preceded the fortieth of these anniversaries, Marinus, the able but grasping Praetorian Prefect, and Plato the Prefect of the city, were standing in their place of honour in the Great Church of Constantinople, when the singers (as it was believed by their command) thundered forth the words, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty [2],' with the terrible addition breathing defiance, menace, and insult, 'Who wast crucified for us.' The orthodox took up the strain and chaunted the verse in the way used by their forefathers. Again psalmody gave place to blows: men wounded and dying lay upon the floor of the church; the ringleaders of the tumult were led off to the dungeons of the city. Next day the scene

of his reign.

Again the heretical Trisagion, 512.

[1] We get this fact from Marcellinus. Victor Tunnunensis, who perhaps misunderstood his authority, thinks that the clouds suddenly rained down ashes in 512 on the impious corrupters of the Trisagion.

[2] Or rather the form which had then become popular, 'Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal.'

BOOK IV. CH. 10.

512.

Disturbance in the city, 6th November.

of strife was transferred to the atrium or oblong porch in front of the Church of St. Theodore, and a yet greater slaughter of the champions of the Catholic faith took place there. On the third day, the 6th of November, the day of the solemn procession, the orthodox mob streamed from all parts into the great forum. There they swarmed and swayed to and fro all that day and all that night, shouting forth, not the greatness of the Ephesian Diana, but 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' without the words 'Who wast crucified.' They hewed down the monks—a minority of their class—who were on the side of the imperial creed, and burned their monasteries with fire. They carried the standards of the army and the keys of the various gates of the city to the Forum, where a sort of camp was established, with monks for its officers. A poor monk from the country was found hiding in the palace of Marinus. Having persuaded themselves that it was by his advice that the deadly words had been added to the hymn, they cut off his head and carried it about on a pole, shouting, 'See the head of an enemy of the Trinity!' The statues of Anastasius were thrown down. The Emperor's nephew Patricius, and Celer Master of the Offices and general-in-chief in the Persian war, were sent to the populace with soothing words; but, notwithstanding their senatorial rank, they were greeted with a shower of stones. Ominous cries claimed the Empire for Areobinda[1], related by marriage to the

[1] Areobinda or Areobindus, son of Dagalaifus and grandson on his mother's side of the Patrician Ardaburius, married Juliana, daughter of the Emperor Olybrius and granddaughter of Valentinian III. (See genealogy at vol. ii. p. 474.) For a notice of the house of Areobinda and of the church at Constantinople

BOOK IV. CH. 10. 512.

family of Valentinian III, and a general who had achieved some successes in the Persian War. The houses of Marinus the Prefect and of Pompeius, a nephew of the Emperor, were burned. At length, after two days of continued riot[1], the triumphant mob, fresh from their work of destruction, brandishing gospel and cross as the ensigns of their war, and shouting 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' without the heretical addition, streamed into the Circus Maximus and stood before the Podium of the Emperor. There on his imperial throne, but without the diadem or the purple, sat the aged monarch (he was now eighty-one years of age), and seemed by his helpless attitude to enquire what was their will. The mob shouted that the two Prefects, Marinus and Plato, should be thrown to the wild beasts. No lighter punishment, in the judgment of those accurate theologians, would suffice for the crime of these men, who had added four words to the Trisagion[2]. Anastasius, whose own voice was no doubt 'changed to a childish treble,' could not himself answer the hoarse hymn-shouters, but he bade the criers make proclamation to the people that he was ready, if they wished it, to lay down the burden of empire; but, inasmuch as all could not be masters, it

Humiliation of Anastasius.

which he dedicated to the virgin, see Anon. Ant. Constantinop. p. 38 (ap. Banduri).

[1] 'Tertio die quam in forum advenerant' (Marcellinus, s. a. 512).

[2] 'In circum ad Anastasium venientes et ante suum solium consistentes, hymnum Trinitatis juxta morem Catholicorum concinentes, conruscansque Evangelium crucemque Christi ferentes, e foro plurimi convenerunt, Marinum Platonemque *pravitatis ejus auctores* feris subjici conclamantes' (Marcellini Chronicon, s. a. 512).

BOOK IV. CH. 10.

would be necessary that his successor should be chosen. Perhaps this was an adroit device to divide the victorious Chalcedonians, united in opposition to Anastasius, but not united in their choice of Areobinda or any other successor. Perhaps the mob were touched with pity and relenting at the sight of those white hairs uncrowned and bowed low before them. Whatever the cause, the multitude were appeased. They melted away out of the streets and Forum and back into their homes, having received from the Emperor nothing but fair words, perhaps promises and oaths to respect the faith of Chalcedon[1].

The Emperor does not keep his promises.

The promises, if they were given, were not kept; for, though the Emperor seems to have abstained from again shocking his subjects in the capital by the sound of the heretical Trisagion, he continued, with the help of Timotheus, his Monophysite Patriarch of Constantinople, to rule the Church in the interests of the heretical party, no longer, it would seem, contented with exacting the signature of Zeno's Henoticon, but insisting on an express anathema to the Council of Chalcedon.

Catholic bishops driven out from their sees.

For refusing this anathema the gentle Flavianus, who had tried to please all parties, and had satisfied none, was thrust out from the see of Antioch, where the busy Monophysite Severus reigned in his stead. All over the East, especially in Syria, was heard the wail of the orthodox for sees widowed of

[1] I do not find the authority for Gibbon's statement that the mob 'accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master without hesitation condemned to the lions.' The deaths of Marinus and Plato were clamoured for; but where are we told that the mob had their will? As for Marinus, Evagrius distinctly mentions him as taking part in the latest scenes of the war with Vitalian, three years after this insurrection.

their Catholic bishops and handed over to heretical intruders.

War of Vitalian. 514-515.

The discontent caused by these high-handed proceedings furnished a pretext which enabled a military adventurer named Vitalian to shake the throne of Anastasius. Though the son of an officer in the imperial army, Vitalian was of Gothic extraction [1]. He was a man of diminutive stature, and had a stutter in his speech: he had all the fire and the courage necessary to lead a band of mutineers and barbarians to victory, and along therewith the address to feign an interest (which he can hardly have felt) in the theological controversy, and to link his cause with that of the prelates deposed for their adherence to the Council of Chalcedon. This was the pretext for rebellion which was flaunted before the eyes of the Byzantine populace, and which has to some extent imposed on later ecclesiastical historians, who have looked upon him as the champion, certainly the ruthless champion, of the Fourth Council of the Catholic faith. The recently-discovered fragments, however, of the history of Joannes Antiochenus [2] (who evidently drew from nearly contemporary sources) show that the rebellion had a much more ignoble origin. Vitalian had a grievance in his removal from the office of distributor of the rations to the *foederati*; the mutinous soldiers alleged that they had a grievance in the withholding of some arrears of pay; the Huns, who formed perhaps the bulk of the army, needed no excuse at all

[1] Vitalianus Scytha (Marcell. Com. s. a. 514). The suggestion that he was a grandson of Aspar seems to spring from a confusion between his father Patriciolus and Aspar's son Patricius.

[2] In Müller's Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, vol. v.

BOOK IV. CH. 10.

514.

for their willingness to swarm across the Danube under the guidance of their savage chiefs Saber and Tarrach and the like, and to devastate the cultivated plains of Moesia and Thrace.

Vitalian's first dash at Constantinople.

The war was waged chiefly in the neighbourhood of Varna (then called Odessus); but twice, nay three times, Vitalian, by a bold dash through the passes of the Balkan, or by assembling a fleet and sailing along the Euxine coast, succeeded in penetrating to the very suburbs of Constantinople. The first time, Anastasius affixed to the city gates brazen crosses with a long statement of the true origin of the insurrection, to disprove Vitalian's assumption of the character of a champion of the faith. At the same time he promised —and this has an important bearing on our main subject—that 'he would bring men from Old Rome to settle matters concerning the faith.' To remove the discontent of the taxpayers he announced that he remitted a fourth part of the tax on cattle for the provinces of Bithynia and Asia, and deposited the paper containing this pledge on the Holy Table in the Great Church.

Proclamation of Anastasius.

Expedition under Hypatius.

For the time Vitalian retired, and the wave of war rolled back across the Balkans. The insurgent general was declared a public enemy by the Senate, and an army of 80,000 men was despatched against him, under the command of the Emperor's nephew Hypatius. The Roman army was encamped behind its waggons at a spot called Akrae, on the sea-coast a little north of Varna. The arrows of the Huns dealt death among the draught oxen, their savage onset broke the line of the waggons, and then (we are gravely told), in the mist raised by their enchantments, the panic-stricken

Crushing defeat of the Emperor's troops.

and flying Romans fell into a deep ravine, where they perished, to the number of 60,000. Their dead bodies piled one upon another filled the rocky chasm. Hypatius fled to the shore and tried to hide himself in the sea, but his head, 'like a sea-bird's,' was seen above the waves: the barbarians dashed into the breakers and captured their valuable prize, the nephew of an Emperor. Vitalian pushed on with a fleet of 200 ships to the suburbs of Constantinople, and overpowered the imperial general John, who rushed into his master's presence and implored him to grant the enemy's terms, however hard they might be. Dispirited by so terrible a defeat of his troops and by the capture of his nephew, Anastasius consented to treat, conferred on Vitalian the dignity of Magister Militum of Thrace, paid him the enormous sum of £200,000 as ransom for Hypatius, and, it is to be feared, made some promises, even swore some oaths, which were not meant to be kept, that he would restore to their episcopal thrones the exiled adherents of Chalcedon.

514.

Vitalian again before Constantinople.

The slippery character of Anastasius made it well-nigh impossible for him ever to end a dispute. Vitalian felt sure that the Emperor was plotting against him, and next year resolved to anticipate the blow by another dash for Constantinople. A battle by land and sea followed, under the very walls of the capital. Now at length fortune turned against the fiery little Gothic rebel. A rough Thracian soldier named Justin, who had fought his way up from the lowest ranks to the position of Captain of the Guard (Excubitorum Praefectus), thrust his ship boldly forwards into the hostile fleet, which was commanded by Vitalian him-

His third expedition to Constantinople, 515.

Vitalian is defeated.

BOOK IV. CH. 10.

515.

self, grappled a ship, made prisoners of all the soldiers on board, and struck such terror into the sailors of Vitalian that they turned and fled. Seeing this, the army on land fled likewise, leaving heaps of their

His flight.

comrades slaughtered on the field. Soon the whole force of Vitalian, Huns, mutinous Romans, Goths, had melted away like snow in summer; and the arch-rebel himself, so lately an important personage in the state and the arbiter between contending creeds, slunk away into obscurity, in which he remained for the rest of the reign of Anastasius.

Overtures by Anastasius to the Pope, 514.

At the end of the year 514, while the rebels' power was still unbroken, the Emperor, in fulfilment of his promise to Vitalian 'to settle the dispute concerning the faith in concert with the Bishop of Old Rome,'

Hormisdas Pope, 514-523.

sent two letters to Hormisdas, who now sat in the chair of St. Peter, saying that the common fame of the Pope's gentleness and moderation induced him to break the long silence caused by the harshness of his predecessors, and to suggest that a council, at which the Pope should preside, and in which he should act as mediator, should be held at Heraclea on the shore of the Propontis (about 60 miles west of Constantinople), in order to settle the affairs of the Church and heal the troubles which had arisen in the province of

A council proposed. Reply of Hormisdas, 515.

Scythia[1]. The day for the Council's assembling was to be the 1st of July, 515. Hormisdas sent a prompt and courteous reply, declaring that peace was his

[1] Anastasius seems to have sent two letters, to nearly the same purport. One was despatched from Constantinople, Dec. 28, 514, and reached Rome on the 14th of May, 515. The other, despatched Jan. 12, 515, was received as early as March 28. The unsettled state of the country, or the fear of winter storms, may have led to the double despatch.

desire, as it had been that of his venerable predecessors. The time for the Council was too near, perhaps had been purposely fixed at too early a date, to make it possible for the Pope and his bishops to attend it; but the ice had now been broken, and negotiations between Rome and Constantinople could go forward, whether the Council were ever to assemble or not. On the 8th of July Hormisdas again sent a short note to the Emperor, commending his zeal for the restoration of unity to the Church, and referring him to the five legates whom he was at the same time despatching from Rome, for fuller information as to the terms upon which he would assist at a new Council.

515.

The Pope's instructions to his legates.

The legates (two bishops, a presbyter, a deacon, and a notary) were headed by Ennodius, Bishop of Ticinum, whom we already know so well as biographer of Epiphanius and turgid panegyrist of Theodoric. The letter of instructions (*Indiculus*) addressed to these legates is still preserved; a long and circumstantial document and curiously characteristic of its author and of the times. Throughout the letter runs that almost exaggerated fear of Greek subtlety, that sense of inferiority to Greek diplomacy, which we trace also in the works of Cassiodorus. We have seen how, in instructing Theodoric's ambassador[1] to Constantinople, the accomplished secretary had warned him of the difficulty of dealing with men 'who think they can foresee everything.' It was with a determination to foresee everything that Hormisdas supplied Ennodius and his colleagues with this marvellous paper, which sought to anticipate every possible opening of the game by the Emperor, and to indicate the proper reply

[1] Agapetus (Var. ii. 6).

BOOK IV. CH. 10. upon the ecclesiastical chess-board. A few extracts may indicate the character of these instructions.

515. 'When you are come into the parts of Greece, if the bishops come out to meet you, receive them with all due respect. If they prepare a lodging for you, do not refuse it, lest the laity should think that the hindrance to concord comes from you. But if they ask you to a meal decline with a gentle apology[1], saying, "Pray that we may be permitted first to meet at the Mystic Table, and then this hospitality of yours will be all the sweeter." When by the favour of God you are come to Constantinople, lodge in the quarters assigned to you by the most clement Emperor, and allow nobody to visit you till you have had your first audience with him. Afterwards you may receive the visits of the orthodox, and of those who seem to have the cause of union at heart. Use caution in conversing with them, and you may obtain useful hints for your own guidance.'

'When you are presented to the Emperor, hold out our letter and say, "Your Father salutes you, daily entreating God and commending your kingdom to the intercessions of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, that God who has put this desire into your heart, to work for the happiness of the Church, may carry it on unto perfection."'

'If he wishes to enter on the subject of the embassy before opening our letter, you shall use these words, "Command us to hand you the writings." If he shall say, "What do the papers contain?" reply, "Salutations to your Piety and thanks to God for making you desire the unity of the Church. Read, and you will

[1] 'Blanda excusatione eos declinate.'

see." Make no mention of the matter in hand till he has received the letters and read them.'

515. Reference to Vitalian.

'After he has done this, add, "Your servant Vitalian, having received, as he said, permission from your Piety, sent his messengers to your Father the holy Pope. To him also we have letters, but, as is fitting, have first directed our course to your Clemency, that we may receive your command to bear our message to him." Should the Emperor ask to see our letters to Vitalian, you must answer, "Your holy father the Pope gave us no such commandment: we cannot do anything of the kind unbidden. Yet that you may know that they contain nothing but that which furthers your own desire for the unity of the Church, associate with us some person in whose presence the letters which we deliver to Vitalian may be read aloud." If he says again that he ought to read them himself, answer again that the Holy Father did not so order you. If he says, "Is all your message contained in the letters? are there not perhaps some verbal communications beside?" you must answer, "Be that far from our conscience. That is not our custom. We come only in God's service. The Holy Pope's commission is a simple one, and his desire is known to all men, being only this, that the decrees of the fathers be not tampered with, and that heretics may be banished from the Church. Our legation relates to nothing else but this."'

We need not closely follow the imaginary interview through all its succeeding stages, which are chiefly theological, not political. At a certain point, it was expected that the Emperor would say, 'We have received and still hold the Synod of Chalcedon and

515.

the letters of Pope Leo.' At this confession of faith the legates were to kiss his breast, and to return thanks to God for giving him this conviction of the Catholic faith, preached by the Apostles, without which no man can be orthodox. If he was to try to throw the blame of the schism on the late Pope Symmachus, predecessor of Hormisdas, they were to reply that they had the letters of Symmachus in their hands, which contained nothing but exhortations to persevere in the faith of Chalcedon. They were then to have recourse to prayers and tears, saying, 'Lord Emperor! think upon God: place before your eyes his coming judgment. The holy fathers who taught thus have but followed the Apostles' faith, by which was builded up the Church of Christ.'

After a good deal more imaginary debate the legates were again to shed tears, and to allude in a humble and delicate way to the controversy which distracted the Church of Constantinople itself. The Emperor would perhaps say, 'You are talking about Macedonius; I understand your finesse. He is a heretic: it is quite impossible that he should be recalled[1].' Then the legates were to reply, 'We, Lord Emperor, mention no one by name. But let your Piety consider, from your own point of view, how much better it would be that there should be a discussion on this point, and that his heresy, if he be a heretic, should be judicially settled, rather than that the orthodox should think him to be unjustly deposed.'

[1] Macedonius died in the year of this embassy (515), but the tidings of his death, if it had already happened, had not reached Rome in August, when Hormisdas prepared this paper of instructions.

This would bring them to the question of the legitimacy of the consecration of Timotheus, the successor of Macedonius, whom the legates were immovably to refuse to recognise in any way as legitimate Patriarch of Constantinople. They were not to allow themselves to be presented by him to the Emperor, and if he was standing by the throne they were to ask for a secret interview, in which they would deliver the papal commission.

The Pope's terms.

Finally, they were to announce to Anastasius that the terms upon which Hormisdas would consent to waive a point of personal dignity, and come to preside at a council held out of Rome, were, (1) public recognition of the Council of Chalcedon and the letters of Leo; (2) public anathematisation of the heretics Nestorius, Eutyches, and the like, who had, on one side or the other, deviated from Chalcedonian orthodoxy, and express inclusion of the name of Acacius among these heretics; (3) the recall of all bishops sent into exile for their fidelity to the Roman see; and (4) the removal of the cases of all bishops banished for any ecclesiastical offence, to Rome, there to be tried by the Apostolic See. In fact these terms, however gently and persuasively and tearfully urged, involved a surrender at discretion of all the points at issue between Emperor and Pope.

How the actual interview between the aged Anastasius and the verbose Ennodius and his colleagues passed off we are unable to say, but, as they could not arrive in Constantinople till October, 515, it is easy to imagine that they found the Emperor in a mood little disposed for conciliation. The Pope's correspondent Vitalian had doubtless before that time

BOOK IV. CH. 10. 515. met his crushing defeat at the hands of Justin. Now that he was a fugitive, and his wild Hunnish marauders were scattered to the winds, the bland excuses, the accurately measured tears, and the punctilious breast-kissings of the Roman envoys might even be found somewhat burdensome by the Byzantine Caesar.

Reply of Anastasius. Still, the negotiations were not wholly dropped, though the proposed Council faded more and more into oblivion. In a long letter sent back by the hands of Ennodius, Anastasius declared his adhesion to the teaching of Leo and Chalcedon, but suggested that it was hard that living men should be kept out of the Church on account of the dead, and that to anathematise Acacius would cause the effusion of much human blood.

His embassy to Rome, 516. In July of the following year he sent two high officers of his Court, Theopompus Count of the Domestics (an Illustris) and Severianus Count of the Consistory (a Clarissimus), with letters both to the Pope and the Senate. The first letter was chiefly filled with excuses, somewhat hollow excuses, for his tardy action in the matter of the reunion of the Churches. The length of the journey and the unusual severity of the preceding winter are made to bear the burden of this delay. The other letter throws an interesting light on the difficult question of the relations existing between the Caesar of Byzantium, the Gothic King, and the Senate of Rome. It begins:—

28 July, 516. 'The Emperor Caesar Flavius Anastasius, pious, fortunate, victorious, ever august, renowned conqueror of the Germans, of the Franks, of the Sarmatians[1],

[1] For obvious reasons Anastasius does not call himself Gotthicus in this document.

father of his country, says Hail! to the pro-consuls, the consuls, the praetors, the tribunes of the commons, and to his Senate. If you and your children are in good health it is well. I and my army are in good health also.'

BOOK IV. CH. 10.

516. Letter of Anastasius to 'his Senate,'

In using this well-known classical formula, the Emperor says 'I and my army' where Cicero would have said 'I and Terentia,' to indicate the close bond of union which in theory always existed between the Imperator and his dutiful soldiers. The use of the possessive pronoun before Senate[1] must, one would think, have jarred upon the ears of Theodoric, when he heard the document read in his *Comitatus* at Ravenna.

The rest of the letter was couched in terms which would not be displeasing to the Gothic King. The Emperor begged the Conscript Fathers to join their prayers with his, prayers which might reasonably be expected to avail 'both with the most glorious King and with the very blessed Pope of the fair city of Rome' for the restoration of peace. And again, near the close of the letter, they are asked to use their utmost efforts for this end, 'both with the exalted King to whom the power and the responsibility of ruling you is committed, and with the venerable Pope, to whom is entrusted the capacity to intercede for you with God.' It would be difficult to express more clearly that Constantinople recognised, as in some sense legitimate, the rule of Theodoric.

recognises the 'most glorious king' Theodoric.

The Senate replied to the Emperor in a letter full of suitable quotations from Scripture on the beauty of peace and the blessings of charity. The sentiments which they express are excellent, and it is only when

517. The Senate's answer.

[1] 'Senatuique *suo* salutem dicit.'

BOOK IV. CH. 10. 517. one sees the title at the beginning, and thinks of those grey old war-wolves who used to be the terror of Italy and the world, that one feels a slight sense of incongruity in the thought that this meritorious, if somewhat vapid, pastoral was addressed to a Roman Imperator by a Roman Senatus. They accept the designation of *your* Senate, and say that 'the mind of our lord and most unconquered King, your son Theodoric, who orders obedience to your commands,' tends in the same direction as that of Anastasius.

The real pivot of the negotiation however was, of course, neither King nor Senate, but Pope. Hormisdas, who was offended [1], somewhat unreasonably one would think, at the Emperor's having sent only laymen, though laymen of high rank, as his ambassadors, had come to the conclusion that the Greeks talked of peace with their lips, but did not care for it in their hearts, and while sending Ennodius on a second embassy to the Emperor, charged him with a letter, written in somewhat sharper tone than those which had preceded it, insisting on the absolutely indispensable damnation of Acacius. Acacius had rolled himself in all the mire of Peter the Stammerer, Dioscorus, and Eutyches. Acacius had spread the poison of Monophysite heresy, which before had only infected Alexandria, far and wide through the Churches. The wound of the Church could not be healed without his damnation. As for the angry feeling which such a proceeding might raise among the mob, sovereigns could bend their subjects to their will. Who heard anything about the wishes of the populace when Marcian, of religious memory, established the faith

Petulant letter from Hormisdas, 3 April, 517.

[1] See his letter to Avitus (Ep. x. p. 395, ap. Migne).

of Chalcedon? And so the letter ended with an earnest, almost imperious call to the Emperor to acquiesce in the monitions of his spiritual father. BOOK IV. CH. 10. 517.

Ennodius and his colleague Peregrinus reached Constantinople at the beginning of July. The Emperor, who for all his eighty-six summers was by this time thoroughly aroused by the obstinacy of the Pope, and who perhaps had ceased to care greatly about the question of reunion, entirely refused to accept the terms of Hormisdas, and forced the legates out of the city, charging the two Prefects [1] with a band of Inland Revenue officers [2] to accompany them on ship-board, and to see that they landed at no city of the Empire. Notwithstanding this pressure, however, they contrived to hand to their monkish partisans in the capital the copies of a protest which they had prepared for circulation through all the Eastern Churches.

The Pope's second embassy to Constantinople, July, 517.

The legates rebuffed.

To Hormisdas the Emperor addressed a short but dignified letter, which, after some rather commonplace reflections upon the mercy and longsuffering of the Most High, he thus concluded:—

Firm and final answer of Anastasius, 11 July, 517.

'We think, therefore, that those who have themselves received mercy, ought not to show themselves merciless. But from henceforth we shall keep silence as to the request which we made of you, thinking it absurd to show the courtesy of prayers to men who stubbornly refuse all that is asked of them. We can bear insults and contempt, but we cannot allow ourselves to be commanded.'

So ended the correspondence between Anastasius and Hormisdas. In the following year the aged

Death of Anastasius, 8 July, 518.

[1] Probably of the East and of Constantinople.

[2] Magistriani (I cannot find an exact equivalent for the term).

BOOK IV. CH. 10.

518.

Ecclesiastical fables respecting it.

Emperor died[1]. Strange portents, according to the ecclesiastical historians, marked his death. A terrible thunderstorm was raging, and Anastasius, to whom it had been foretold that he should die by such a storm, crept into an inner apartment[2] and was there found by his servants dead; but whether struck by a flash of lightning, or slain only by his own fears, none could tell. On the same day Elias, the deposed Patriarch of Jerusalem, had a revelation that the Emperor was dead, and that he himself was to follow in ten days to bear witness against him before the throne of God. A short time before the death of the Emperor, according to the foolish story of some late writers[3], a man clothed in white raiment was seen by him in a vision, turning over the leaves of a book which he held in his hand. With a frown the supernatural visitor said, 'In punishment for thy impiety, behold I strike off fourteen—,' and therewith cancelled fourteen years of the Emperor's life, who, it seems, might otherwise have attained the age of a hundred and one.

Review of his life.

All this stir in heaven and earth over the death of a sovereign who had entered his eighty-eighth year, may, at any rate, be taken as a proof that he had not sunk into dotage, but had still energy enough to inspire energetic hatred. We picture him to ourselves with his tall figure still unbowed by age, with his steel-blue eyes not dimmed, nor the vigour of his

[1] His wife Ariadne, who had passed nearly sixty years in the imperial palace, died in the year 515.

[2] Which, according to Zonaras, he had caused to be built underground and covered with a dome (θόλος).

[3] Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes.

intellect abated. Two testimonies which we possess concerning him outweigh many of the fierce censures of his ecclesiastical opponents: the acclamation 'Reign as you have lived!' with which the populace hailed the news of his accession, and the phrase 'sweetest-tempered of sovereigns[1]' which the notary Lydus, years after his death, when nothing was to be gained by praising him, dropped by his half-forgotten grave. Yet, with many noble qualities, Anastasius hardly attained to greatness. He allowed himself to be forced from a position of calm impartiality between warring sects, into one of bitter partisanship on behalf of a single sect, and that the one which has eventually been judged heretical. And in his dealings both with the external and internal enemies of the Empire, he certainly showed himself more a Greek than a Roman in his lack of the kingly quality of truthfulness.

Accession of Justin.

On the very day of the death of Anastasius, Justin, Captain of the Guard, and lately the conqueror of Vitalian, was raised to the throne, nominally by the Senate, but really by the household troops. The means by which this rough and illiterate Thracian soldier attained to the first place in the civilised world were simple, if not in the highest degree praiseworthy.

How brought about.

Amantius, an eunuch and Grand Chamberlain[2], who had been all-powerful in the later years of Anastasius, desired to maintain his hold of power by placing on the throne a certain Theocritus, whom he deemed to be entirely devoted to his interests. For this purpose he deposited a large sum in the hands of Justin, to be distributed as a donative to the soldiers of the guard,

[1] Ὑπὸ τῷ πάντων βασιλέων ἡμερωτάτῳ Ἀναστασίῳ (De Mag. iii. 26).

[2] Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi.

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His want of education. It was an unusual sight to see in the palace of the emperors a peasant-born soldier who could neither read nor write, and who, like Theodoric the Goth (if indeed the story be true of Theodoric), must needs affix his sign-manual to the state-papers by drawing the stylus dipped in purple ink through four holes for letters prepared in a metal plate. His wife formerly a slave. His wife Lupicina also, who took the name Euphemia, was not of illustrious origin, being a barbarian slave whom her future husband bought as his concubine. Their orthodoxy. All, however, in the eyes of the populace was condoned by the undoubted orthodoxy of the new Emperor, by the delight of having again a ruler who adhered to the Council of Chalcedon.

Scene in the Great Church, 15 July, 518. On the first Sunday after Justin's elevation the people crowded into the Great Church, and when the Patriarch John—the successor of Timotheus and believed to be in sympathy with Chalcedon—appeared at the Ambo, they shouted out, 'Long life to the Emperor! Long life to the Patriarch! Anathema to Severus [Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch]. Why do we remain excommunicated? Carry out the bones of the Manicheans. He who does not shout is a Manichean. Mary the mother of God is worthy of the throne. Bishop! speak or leave the church. Proclaim the faith of Chalcedon. The Emperor is a Catholic: what are you afraid of? Long life to the

new Constantine! to the new Helena! *Justine Auguste tu vincas.*' This official formula of salutation to a new Emperor was uttered in the Latin tongue, all the rest of the excited utterances of the crowd being in their vernacular Greek. With difficulty the Patriarch persuaded them to hold their peace till he should have kissed the altar and celebrated mass. This done, the shouters resumed their self-imposed toils. At length the Patriarch mounted the Ambo and said, 'You know, brethren, how many labours I have undergone in past years for the faith. There is no need for disturbance. We all receive the four great Councils, including that of Chalcedon.' 'No,' said the shouting crowd, 'that is not enough. Anathematise Severus: proclaim a feast in honour of the Council of Chalcedon. We will stay here all night if you do not. You shall not depart till you have anathematised Severus.'

The Monophysites anathematised.

At length, with an appearance of yielding to the wishes of the mob, but probably with a consciousness of having prepared the whole scene himself in concert with his master, the Patriarch announced that it should be as they wished. In unison with a large number of bishops from neighbouring dioceses, present in the basilica, he formally anathematised Severus, and announced that on the following day (16th July) there should be a solemn ceremony in honour of the Holy Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon.

On the morrow, when this rite was ended, there was a renewal of the same disorderly cries. 'Anathema to the Nestorians. I do not know who is a Nestorian. Anathema to the Eutychians. Dig up their bones. Cast the bones of the Manicheans out of

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Cries against Amantius.

doors. *Justine Auguste tu vincas*[1].' Mingled with these shouts were heard ominous growls at Amantius the Manichean, which indicate pretty plainly who had been tuning the voices of these tumultuary theologians. In fact, the Eunuch, whose gold had been so adroitly used against him, was very shortly after these days of clamour put out of the way by the new Emperor.

Ceremony in honour of the Council of Chalcedon, 16 July.

There was a moment of real sublimity in the ceremony of the 16th of July. This was when the Patriarch ascended the Ambo, with the diptychs in his hands, and read from them, amid the deep silence which had fallen upon the shouting crowd, the names of the four Councils which the Church of Constantinople held in highest reverence, Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. Then followed the names of the bishops who had departed this life in the faith and fear of God, and with whom the Church still maintained her mystic and invisible communion. Towards the close of this mighty roll of names came Leo, Pontiff of Rome, and Euphemius and Macedonius, Archbishops of the kingly city of Constantinople. At this sound, which announced to their ears the termination of the controversy of a lifetime, the populace burst into a loud and joyful shout, 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord.' So, after nearly forty years of imperfect acquiescence or actual opposition, did the Church of Constantinople return to unhesitating allegiance to the faith as formulated at Chalcedon.

Terms of reunion still to be arranged with Rome.

Not yet, however, was Rome fully appeased, nor could she yet welcome the Eastern Church as wholly purged from her error. The theological question was

[1] 'Curatorem non habes.' What could be the meaning of this addition to the popular acclamation?

settled, but the more important personal question remained open. Nay, even the recent triumph of the orthodox populace was stained with some disrespect to the chair of St. Peter, since Rome could not admit that even Euphemius and Macedonius, however manfully they might have struggled against a Manichean Emperor, could rightly have their names recited in the Church's diptychs.

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Letter from Justin to Hormisdas, 1 Aug. 518.

Communications were soon opened between Constantinople and Rome. The new Emperor wrote a short letter to the Pope in which he announced that, by the favour of the indivisible Trinity, of the nobles of the palace and the most holy Senate, and by the choice of his brave army, he had been elected to the Empire; and he dared to add that he had been most unwilling to accept the honour. Hormisdas replied, and letters passed backwards and forwards for some months between the two capitals. The chief part in the correspondence on the side of Byzantium was played, not by the illiterate Justin, but by his nephew, a man in early middle life, holding the high office of Count of the Domestics, and who showed already great talents for theological disputation. This literary assessor of Justin was Justinian.

Correspondence chiefly conducted by the Emperor's nephew Justinian.

Bargaining about the damnation of Acacius and his successors.

In the letters sent from Constantinople a faint-hearted attempt was made to save Acacius from damnation. Hormisdas saw that the Emperor really desired reunion; and firmly, but with more gentleness than he had used towards the heretical Anastasius, insisted that those who were sincere in anathematising Eutyches must also anathematise Acacius. The real stress of the contest probably bore, not so much on the name of Acacius, whom both Emperor and people

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were willing to surrender to damnation, as on the names of the beloved and venerated Euphemius and Macedonius, whom the Pope insisted, not indeed on formally branding with his anathema, but on silently omitting from the diptychs.

Arrival of the Pope's legates, 25 March, 519.

At length affairs were ripe for the reception of an embassy from the Pope, and eight months after Justin's elevation to the throne the papal legates arrived at Constantinople. They were charged with letters to the Emperor, the Empress, the Patriarch, the Archdeacon and clergy of Constantinople, to Count Justinian and other courtiers, and to two noble ladies —perhaps members of the family of Anastasius— who were named Anastasia and Palmatia, and who had apparently, in the evil days of the preceding reign, signalised themselves by their zeal for the faith of Chalcedon. The legates had also an *Indiculus* for their own private use, telling them how far to go and where to stand firm in their debate with the Emperor, and a *Libellus* or formula of submission and profession of faith to be signed by all those who wished to re-enter into communion with the Holy See.

Their *Indiculus* and *Libellus*.

Reception of the legates.

The Pope's messengers had no reason to complain of want of cordiality in their reception at Constantinople. At the tenth milestone from the city they were met by a brilliant throng of courtiers and nobles. At the head of the procession were Vitalian, the little eager soldier who had borne arms for the faith of Chalcedon, Pompeius the nephew of the late Emperor, and Justinian the nephew of the reigning Emperor. Thus did the evening and morning stars of the monarchy meet to do them reverence.

On the next day they stood in the presence of Justin and the Senate. The Patriarch of Constantinople, though favourable to reunion, would not compromise his dignity by appearing in person, but was represented by four of his suffragan bishops. To an invitation from the Emperor that they should argue the matters recently in debate between the two sees, the legates replied that they had no instructions to argue, but only to produce the Pope's letter and the *Libellus*, which must be signed by all bishops who desired to be reconciled to the Apostolic see. The Libellus was read; the representatives of the Patriarch pronounced it to be consistent with the truth. The Emperor and the Senators burst out into impatient exclamations, 'If it be true, sign it at once, and make an end of the matter.' A day, however, had to elapse, and then the Libellus was put before the Patriarch, who was now present in the palace. He, even in accepting it, dexterously contrived to save some shreds of the dignity of his see. A Libellus was generally subscribed by those who had fallen from the faith, and was thus an admission of guilt. He wrote a clever prologue, turning it into a letter of friendship, addressed 'to his most blessed brother and fellow-servant Hormisdas.' He declared that he held the two Churches of the old Rome and the new to be one Church, and one seat of the Apostle Peter; and then, after these precautionary words and a statement of his acceptance of the four great Councils, he adopted uncompromisingly the whole of the Libellus, with its strong assertion of the office of Peter and the Apostolic see as guardians of the Catholic religion, and its condemnation of the usual string of heretics, be-

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In the Imperial presence, 26 March.

The Patriarch signs the Libellus, 27 March.

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ginning with Nestorius and ending with Timothy the Weasel and Peter the Stammerer. Then came the clause of special interest, the key of the whole battle-field. 'Similarly we anathematise Acacius, formerly Bishop of Constantinople, who made himself accomplice and follower of these heretics, together with all who persevered in their fellowship and communion.' In these last words lay a covert if not an express anathema for all the recent bishops of Constantinople.

Anathema on Acacius.

Striking the names of heretical emperors and patriarchs out of the diptychs.

Next came the solemn act of erasing from the diptychs, and thus striking out of the communion of the Church the names of Zeno and Anastasius the emperors, as well as of Acacius and his four successors in the see of Constantinople, including those two honoured names which had so recently been replaced there, the names of Euphemius and Macedonius. This was done, not only in the Patriarchal Basilica but in all the churches of Constantinople. The legates recorded with wonder and gratitude to God and St. Peter that none of the evil consequences which had been threatened, neither tumult nor shedding of blood, followed this act, which must, one would think, have torn the hearts of many thousands of the people of Constantinople who had loved and well-nigh worshipped the excommunicated prelates.

The East and West reunited.

After such an immense surrender as this, the rest of the work of reunion all over the East, except at Monophysite Alexandria, was comparatively easy, nor need we trouble ourselves with any further details of what had now become a mere matter of formal negotiation. Thus then ended the first great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches. Followed as it has been in later ages by other and more

enduring divisions, which have produced results of world-historical importance, this schism will hardly be deemed unworthy of the space which has here been devoted to it. While it lasted, it secured fair play, at least, for the young kingdom of Theodoric. Its termination was an event of evil augury for the Ostrogothic power; and the peace of the Church, by no very remote chain of causes and effects, involved war for Italy.

Splendid strategy of the Popes.

Looked at merely as a question of spiritual strategy, and without any reference to the spirit and maxims of Christianity, the action of the Popes during the forty years of the struggle must be pronounced most masterly. It was necessary to show to all the world that no act of importance could take place in any of the Churches of Christendom without their consent. Acacius had presumed to endeavour to carry through Zeno's scheme of comprehension without the sanction of the Pope, and therefore, though personally orthodox, Acacius must suffer eternal torment. That end was now attained as far as ecclesiastical censures could secure it; and it might be expected that it would be long before another Patriarch of Constantinople would incur the same tremendous penalty. It is a new warfare in which the Popes are engaged, those venerable men whose faces in almost endless series look down on the visitor to Rome from the walls of S. Paolo. Legates are their proconsuls, monks their legionaries, the Churches of foreign lands their provinces, the sentence of eternal damnation the *pilum* with which those provinces shall be won. They plan their campaigns with the skill of a Scipio, and they fight them through with the fortune as well as with

BOOK IV. CH. 10. the relentlessness of a Sulla. This at least is their general character; but in their career of conquest, as in that of the Republic which preceded them, there are occasional vicissitudes of defeat. We have just been tracing the history of the Acacian war, crowned by the victory of Constantinople. Thirty years later we shall have to witness the defeat and surrender of Vigilius at the same place; a calamity for the pontifical arms as great and as bitterly resented as that which befell the Roman legions on the disastrous day of Caudium.

CHAPTER XI.

THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH.

Authorities.

Sources:—

ENNODIUS, Libellus Apologeticus pro Synodo, a little pamphlet in defence of the Synod which reinstated Pope Symmachus. Ennodius gives that version of the confused transactions of 498–501, which is most favourable to Symmachus. On the same side, but with no great sign of partisanship, is the LIBER PONTIFICALIS in the third volume of Muratori, and now (most carefully edited) in the first volume of Duchesne. On the other hand, we have what Duchesne calls FRAGMENTUM LAURENTIANUM (i. 43–46: or in Muratori, iii. 2. 45), which is an anonymous VITA SYMMACHI, taking a bitterly hostile view of all the proceedings of this Pope, and evidently the work of some adherent of the Laurentian faction. For Duchesne's remarks on this curious production see his Preface to the L. P., pp. xxx–xxxi. The acts of the successive councils will be found in Labbe and Mansi's Concilia, tom. viii. pp. 230–344.

Guides:—

Baronius (Annales Ecclesiastici), Hefele (Conciliengeschichte), and Dahn (Könige der Germanen).

IT was a singular coincidence that for nearly thirty years at the close of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century, the three greatest monarchies of the civilised world were ruled by sovereigns whose religious opinions differed from those of their subjects.

Want of religious agreement between sovereigns and their subjects,

We have seen the troubles which befell Anastasius, because the mob of Constantinople could never be

at Constantinople,

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satisfied that he held the right opinion as to the union of the Divine and the Human in the person of Jesus Christ.

at Ctesiphon,

Across the Euphrates, Kobad[1] had to atone for his acceptance of the reformed Zoroastrianism of Mazdak by three years of imprisonment in 'the Castle of Oblivion.' He regained the kingdom only by the arms of the White Huns, and when once again seated on the throne and wearing the diadem of the King of kings, he found it prudent to effect a compromise between his personal and his official consciences. As a man he still held the wild communistic faith of Mazdak, but as king he ruled upon the old lines and respected the rights of property both in jewels and in wives[2].

and at Ravenna.

In Italy, Theodoric, unshaken in the Arianism which had been, probably for a century, the faith of his forefathers, ruled over a people the vast majority of whom were Trinitarians, but ruled so justly that, as we have seen[3], even orthodox bishops loudly praised his fair-

[1] The reign of Kobad lasted from 487 to 498, and from 501 to 531.

[2] According to Rawlinson's description, the teaching of Mazdak must have had some similarity to modern Nihilism. 'All men were born equal: none brought into the world any property or any natural right to possess more than another. Property and marriage were mere human inventions:—in communities based upon them, men might lawfully vindicate their natural rights by taking their fair share of the good things wrongfully appropriated by their fellows. Adultery, incest, theft, were not really crimes, but necessary steps towards re-establishing the laws of nature in such societies.' Yet Mazdak himself was a man of austere life, and preached these doctrines 'not from any base or selfish motive, but simply from a conviction of their truth' (Seventh Oriental Monarchy, 343).

[3] See the extract from the Anonymus Valesii in chapter viii.

ness and moderation. So thoroughly was it understood that the Catholic had at least an equal chance with the Arian of obtaining the royal favour that, in a story which was current not long after his death, he was even represented as putting to death a Catholic deacon who had embraced the creed of the court in order to ingratiate himself with his sovereign[1]. Historians are probably right in rejecting this story, which would indeed have been a striking example of 'an intolerant love of toleration:' but the fact that it should have obtained currency, is a striking proof that his subjects recognised the earnest desire of their sovereign to keep a perfectly even balance between the two warring creeds. In this respect Theodoric stands out in marked contrast to most of the other Teutonic rulers. While the barbarian Gaiseric and his son plunge with blind zeal into the theological fray, cut out the tongues and rack the limbs of Catholic bishops, while the hypocrite Clovis makes his pretended zeal for the Catholic faith an excuse for invading the fair lands of his kinsman and ally, Theodoric with this noble sentence on his lips, 'We cannot command the religion of our subjects, since no one can be forced to believe against his will[2],' pursues, perhaps unconsciously, the truly statesmanlike, truly reverent, policy of Valentinian I, and, leaving each man to answer to his Maker for his thoughts concerning Him, uses the power of

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Religious impartiality of Theodoric.

[1] This story is told by the nearly contemporary Theodorus Lector (p. 193, ed. Migne), as well as by the late and legend-loving Theophanes (p. 122, ed. of 1655). The early date of the former writer causes me to speak of the tale a little more respectfully than some of my predecessors.

[2] 'Religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credat invitus' (Cass. Var. ii. 27).

BOOK IV. CH. 11. the State only for the punishment of those deeds whereby the State is endangered.

His protection of the Jews. This absolute impartiality in matters of religion extended even to the Jews; and herein is one of the strongest proofs that it was not a mere counsel of convenience, but that it sprang from conviction deeply rooted in the sovereign's mind. It would have been easy for him, as an Arian, to curry favour with the orthodox party by showing that he could be as bitter as any of them against the Jewish enemies of the faith. Instead of this, any offence against *Civilitas* was punished with equal severity, whether Jew or Christian complained of its perpetration. At Rome, at Milan, at Ravenna, the Jews were at various times attacked by furious mobs, their synagogues burned [1], and their persons ill-treated. Of course, there was the usual crop of stories to justify the popular fury, stories like those which three centuries before had stirred up the same kind of mobs to do violence to the impious Nazarenes. The Jews in the Trastevere had beaten their Christian servants, the Jews at Ravenna had performed some insulting parody of Christian baptism. But the decision of Theodoric was firm. The order of the State should be upheld, and those who transgressed it, whether Jews or Christians, should be punished. The synagogues were to be rebuilt at the cost of the persons by whom they had been destroyed, and the authors of the tumult were to be severely punished.

He expresses his desire for True, the Gothic King, or his Secretary for him, in one of the letters announcing these decisions [2], made

[1] This happened only at Rome and Ravenna.

[2] Cass. Var. v. 37.

a pathetic appeal to the Jews to escape from the future punishment of their misbelief—an appeal which would hardly appear at the end of a similar state-paper issued in our own times. 'But why, oh Jew! dost thou seek by thy supplications to us for temporal quietness, if thou art not able to find the rest which is eternal?' But the long oppressed nation did not resent a word or two of disapprobation for their theology, while their material rights were safe-guarded by so firm a hand. They gave their strong, hearty, and unwavering loyalty to the Gothic rule in Italy: and, when we come to the story of the final contest between King and Emperor, we shall find that, as certainly as the Catholic priest is on the side of Justinian, so certainly is the Jewish merchant on that of Witigis or Totila.

their conversion.

His position at the time of contested papal elections.

From the impartial, almost friendly attitude which Theodoric assumed towards the Catholic Church through the greater part of his reign, he naturally exercised a great moral influence in addition to the political rights which belonged to him as head of the State, at that time of trouble and anxiety, both for Church and State, a contested Papal election.

Pope Gelasius, 1 March 492 to 21 Nov. 496.

In tracing the history of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, we have come down to the pontificate of Hormisdas. Remounting the stream of Papal history, we find that the occupant of St. Peter's chair at the accession of Theodoric was the vigorous and uncompromising Gelasius. In the pontificate of Gelasius the controversy with Constantinople was conducted with at least as much vigour and asperity as had marked the spiritual war under the generalship of Felix. Happily, however, we may now

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His opposition to the Lupercalia.

turn from this monotonous controversy to behold the Pope trampling out the dying, but not quite dead, embers of Paganism. There was still a party at Rome, with the Senator Andromachus at their head, who wished to keep up the old heathen orgies of the Lupercalia, that strange rite made memorable by Mark Antony's share in it, on the day when, after running naked through the Forum, he knelt down and offered the diadem to Caesar. This custom had not been suppressed along with the other heathen observances, and now Andromachus and his party wished to perpetuate it. They pleaded that none of the earlier Popes had objected to the rite. It used to be thought that the touch of the Lupercalian's thong falling on the shoulders of the Roman matrons brought with it a peculiar good fortune. It could, at any rate, do no harm to keep alive so ancient a custom. Gelasius replied, with bitter scorn, that though earlier pontiffs might not have been strong enough to suppress the heathen observance, he was, and would exercise his power. If Andromachus and his party really believed the Lupercalia to be a religious act, let them take the shame of it on themselves, themselves rush about like naked madmen through the streets, and not, as was now the custom, put off the shame of it upon others, their inferiors in rank. The observance of the Lupercalia had not brought luck to Rome in past times, had not saved her from the sword of Alaric or the ships of Gaiseric. Nay, even in later days, the terrible scenes which marked the strife between Anthemius and Ricimer had not been averted by this silly and licentious rite. He could not lay down the law for Pagans, but to Christians he spoke in a voice to which

they must hearken. No baptized person, no Christian, should dare to take part in the impious orgy: if he did, he should be without hesitation cut off from the communion of the faithful[1].

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We know not the result, but it cannot be doubted that such a mandate, coming from such lips, was sufficient to destroy the Lupercalian festival.

Pope Anastasius II, 24 Nov. 496 to 19 Nov. 498.

Gelasius was succeeded by the gentle Anastasius; and, on the death of this conciliatory Pontiff, Festus the ambassador who had just visited Constantinople with a commission both from the Pope and the King, and who had succeeded in making peace on behalf of the latter for his 'pre-assumption of the kingdom,' endeavoured to further the cause of unity by procuring the election of a Pope who would look favourably on the Henoticon of Zeno. Both at Old and New Rome, symptoms may be discerned of a disposition on the part of the aristocrats to press this creation of statesmen, this politically concocted 'end of controversy,' on the rulers of the Church; while the lower classes and the monks, seeing perhaps less of the necessities of the position, stood immutably faithful to the Tome of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon.

Efforts of Festus on behalf of the Henoticon.

The candidate whom Festus, in the interests of his scheme of Church union, desired to see made Pope, was the Arch-Presbyter Laurentius, who was elected a few days after the death of Anastasius in the great Liberian Basilica[2]. On the same day, however, a larger body of clergy, assembled in the Lateran Church, had elected as Pope the deacon Symmachus, a native

He puts forward Laurentius as a candidate for the papacy, 22 Nov. 498. Double election: Laurentius and Symmachus.

[1] The letter of Gelasius is to be found in the 59th vol. of Migne's Patrologia, pp. 110–113.

[2] Church of S. Maria Maggiore.

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of Sardinia, whose consecration was accomplished before that of his rival.

The dispute referred to Theodoric.

Here then was the city plunged anew into all the miseries and the turmoil of a contest for the chair of St. Peter. Blood had already begun to flow in the streets of Rome, when the wise resolution was taken to refer the whole matter in dispute to the arbitration of Theodoric. The rival candidates appeared accordingly in his palace at Ravenna, and claimed his award. Political reasons would probably have inclined him to support the candidate of Festus, who had so successfully served him at the court of Anastasius, but his instinctive love of justice prevailed. 'The candidate first elected, if also the candidate elected by most voices, ought to be Pope.' He who fulfilled these conditions was Symmachus.

His decision.

Symmachus Pope. Council at St. Peter's, 1 Mar. 499.

A council, the first of many on this business, was called at St. Peter's on the 1st of March in the following year. Symmachus, who had convened the council, was recognised as regularly elected Pope; and decrees were made against the practice of canvassing for votes in anticipation of a vacancy in the Holy See, and for the regulation of future contested elections in the case of the Pope's dying suddenly without having been able to arrange for the election of his successor [1].

Reaction in favour of Laurentius.

The victory of Symmachus, however, was only apparent. Though Laurentius, who seems to have been a man of peaceable disposition, was willing to acquiesce in his defeat, and even accepted the bishopric of Nocera from his rival, his partisans, who perhaps con-

[1] Though a dying Pope could not absolutely nominate his successor, great weight was attached to his *recommendation*, which it seems to have been a matter of course for him to utter.

stituted the majority of the Senate, could not brook their defeat by the popular party. We hear no more of the Henoticon, the original cause of the quarrel: everything seems merged in the passionate determination of the Senators, by fair means or foul, to depose Symmachus from the Papacy. It seems probable that the means used were foul rather than fair, when, in addition to the ordinary charge of alienation of church-property (doubtless in order to meet the expenses of the election) and a singular one of celebrating Easter apart from the multitude of believers, an accusation of gross immorality was also brought against Symmachus by Festus and his fellow-worker Probinus[1]. The vagueness of these charges, the illegal means by which it was sought to support them, and the earnest denial of their truth by Ennodius[2] (an honest man, though an intolerably tedious writer), all seem to justify the belief that this was one of those cruel attacks on private character which are made, only because the high position of the victim causes accusation and condemnation to be one, in the charitable judgment of the crowd[3].

The senators accuse Symmachus of immorality.

Again disturbances broke out, again there was bloodshed in the streets and squares of Rome. We are not

Disturbances break out afresh.

[1] Probably the same as the Probinus, Vir Illustris and Patricius, who is rebuked in Cass. Var. ii. 11 for overreaching conduct towards Basilius and Agapita.

[2] In his Liber Apologeticus pro Synodo.

[3] The only passage which makes me doubt Ennodius' conviction of the absolute innocence of Symmachus is this sentence in the imaginary address of St. Peter to his accusers: 'Nolite Symmachum papam pressuris vestris juvare (?): si reus est, mihi credite, cum cessaverit humanae impugnationis ministerium divinum mox succedit arbitrium' (Libellus Apol. pro Synodo, 201: Migne).

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500.

able to fix the precise date of this recrudescence of the strife, but it seems probable that it was in the later months of 500, just after the sojourn of the King in Rome, during which undoubtedly both parties kept truce in the presence of that stalwart maintainer of *civilitas*[1].

Theodoric summons Symmachus to Ariminum.

The King, who during that visit had probably been in frequent intercourse with the leaders of the Senatorial party, may have imbibed some of their prejudices against Symmachus, who was formally accused before him of immorality. At any rate he summoned him to Rimini, and the Pope, who seems to have understood that only the trifling question about his manner of keeping Easter would be examined into by Theodoric, obeyed the summons. One evening, however, as he wandered by the sea-shore, he saw some travellers ride by along the Flaminian Way. Among them were the Roman women whom he was accused of having seduced. The truth flashed upon his mind. They were going to the King's Comitatus, and he was to stand his trial before it for adultery. Terrified at the prospect[2], he stole away secretly in the dead of night, with one attendant, to Rome, to his old refuge at the Basilica of St. Peter.

The Pope obeys, but afterwards flees to Rome.

Peter of Altino appointed 'Visitor' by Theodoric.

Offended by the Pope's flight, and rendered yet more suspicious of his guilt, Theodoric now took the bold step of appointing a 'Visitor' to summon a council, to hear thereat the charges against Symmachus, and meanwhile to undertake the government of the

[1] Anon. Valesii says that Theodoric's visit to Rome was 'post factam pacem in urbem [sic] ecclesiae.'

[2] And perhaps, as Dahn suggests, determined not to concede the king's right to try him on such a charge.

Church in his stead. This was undoubtedly a high-handed proceeding; one which, in the distracted state of the Church, success, and the maintenance of strict impartiality by the King's delegate, might have excused, but which otherwise it would be difficult to justify. The Visitor, Bishop Peter of Altino, preserved no semblance of judicial impartiality, and consequently his mission was doomed to failure. Instead of visiting the Pope at the shrine of St. Peter's[1], he at once threw himself into the arms of the Senatorial party, turned several of the clerical adherents of Symmachus out of their churches and intruded Laurentians in their room.

Peter's hostility to the Pope causes a reaction in his favour.

This strong partisanship, exhibited by the nominee of an Arian king at the bidding of the laymen of the Senate, touched the hierarchical spirit of the bishops who were summoned to the Council, and caused a certain reaction in favour of Symmachus, who hitherto had perhaps had only the lower clergy and the populace of Rome in his favour. Some of the bishops on their way to Rome had an interview with Theodoric, in which they frankly told him—so say the Acts of a later Council, which undoubtedly represent the high ecclesiastical view of the question—'that he, the accused Pope, and not the King, was the person who ought of right to convene the Council, since by God's command this was the peculiar privilege of the Pope, derived from the dignity of Peter's primacy, that he could not be judged by those of lower degree.'

[1] Ennodius argues at some length that, had Peter of Altino proceeded, as a good Catholic should have done, first to the tomb of the Apostle, the grace vouchsafed to him there would have saved him from his subsequent errors.

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501.

Symmachus denies the Council's right to judge him.

This was in fact the position taken up by Symmachus, when at length, soon after Easter in 501, the Council which was to try his case assembled in the Julian Basilica. Yet, he intimated, he might be willing to waive his right, and appear before the Council to answer the charges against him, but only on condition that Peter the Visitor should be disavowed, and the churches which he had taken from the adherents of Symmachus should be restored to them. The Council, which was composed chiefly of elderly men, did not dare thus to reverse the acts of Theodoric. Nor did they, on the other hand, though partially reassured by a letter which the King had shown the bishops at Ravenna, proving that Symmachus himself had expressed a desire for the assembling of the Council, dare to sit in judgment on the successor of St. Peter without his consent. After fumbling at the question for some time with feeble trembling hands, they gave it up, and requested the king to convoke a council at Ravenna. The Council then broke up, and several of its members left Rome.

The Council dare not offend either Pope or King.

Theodoric insists on their deciding the question.

This futile result disgusted the King, who was not perhaps greatly interested in the question whether Symmachus or Laurentius should win, but earnestly desirous that the strife should be ended somehow, and peace restored to Rome. He wrote to the bishops who remained at Rome, praising their patience, but complaining with some acerbity of their faint-hearted colleagues. He entirely refused to have the matter referred to him at Ravenna. 'Had it been his wish to interfere in the dispute,' he said, 'he doubted not that he and the great officers of his household would have been able to find a solution of the difficulty, which

would have been approved by posterity. But as it concerns God and the clergy he had decided to summon the bishops; and they must settle it[1].' Three letters[2] were written by Theodoric in this strain, urging the bishops to do their duty and not to leave undecided a controversy which was daily imperilling the peace of 'the Royal City.' 'If you like to decide it without enquiry, on account of the rank of the accused person, do so; though I must remind you of that saying of Aspar's' (and here Theodoric indulged in a remembrance of his Byzantine days) 'when he was recommended by the Senate to make himself Emperor: "I fear," said he, "lest by me this thing should be drawn into a custom in the Empire[3]." Even so I fear lest if you leave this matter unenquired into,

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501.

[1] 'Si mihi visum fuisset, aut justitia habuisset, ut ego debuissem audire cum Proceribus Palatii mei, potueram tractare quomodo et Deo placuisset et posteritati ingratum non fuisset.' But because it is 'causa Dei et clericorum,' he has on the petition of senate and clergy convoked the bishops to settle it.

[2] These letters are given by Baronius (Ann. Eccl. ix. 13), and said by him to have been sent him by 'noster Nicolaus Faber' of Paris. They are said to have suffered from time and the errors of copyists, but are undoubtedly of great interest. One would like to know something more of their history than the meagre statement of Baronius. The fact that they are not included in the Variae makes it probable that as yet Cassiodorus had not entered on the office of Quaestor.

The first letter (addressed to the bishops who had remained at Rome, and with whom the king was best satisfied) has the concluding words 'Orate pro nobis, domini ac venerabiles Patres' added in another hand. Notwithstanding the depreciatory remarks of Anon. Valesii as to Theodoric's penmanship, one cannot repress the conjecture that this subscription was in the original added by the king's own hand.

[3] Probably Aspar means the custom of placing the diadem on the head of a man of non-Roman descent.

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immorality should become common among priests. Still, on you be the responsibility: only decide the case.'

Safeguard sent to Symmachus.

At the same time, Theodoric sent three stout Goths, Arigern the count and the chamberlains Gudila and Bedewulf, to Symmachus, to protect him on his passage through the city, and probably also to remind the Sardinian priest that the King of the Goths and Romans was not accustomed to have his orders disobeyed by any subject, however exalted. The persuasion, of whatever kind it may have been, was effectual; the protection, as it turned out, was really needed. The Pope set forth on the morning of the 1st of September to meet the Council of his judges assembled in the church of Santa Croce, hard by that Sessorian place in which, a year before, the head of Odoin the traitor had rolled on the marble pavement. To reach the place of judgment Symmachus must needs traverse the whole breadth of Rome, from the north-western Janiculan hill to the south-eastern Coelian. The sight of the Pope going forth on this humiliating errand touched the hearts of his plebeian supporters. A multitude gathered in his train, who followed him weeping and lamenting[1]. These evidences of the popularity of their hated antagonist kindled the rage of the Senators of the opposite party. To them the question between Laurentius and Symmachus was probably no more than as one of those disputes in the circus between the Blues and Greens, in which the victory of a charioteer favoured by the

Tumult in the streets of Rome, 1 Sept. 501.

[1] 'Multitudo illa juncta sacerdotis officiis attulit ad nos lamenta non jacula: nec venit telis minax sed fletibus miserabilis' (Ennodius, Libellus Apologeticus, p. 194: Migne).

mob goaded the dainty Senator to madness[1]. Whatever the cause, the party of Laurentius, including some priests as well as Senators, fell upon the mournful procession of Symmachus, dealing such cruel blows that many fell wounded to the earth, and only the energy of the three Gothic henchmen succeeded in winning for their *protégé* a way back through the crowd to his asylum at St. Peter's shrine.

Symmachus shuts himself up at St. Peter's.

This street-brawl secured the victory to Symmachus. With good reason could he now entrench himself behind his sacred prerogative, and say, 'I am in God's hands and the King's. Let them do with me what they will. I appear not before the Council.' The sympathies of Theodoric, which had been for a time turned against Symmachus, by what looked like an evasion from justice, were now heartily restored to him by this gross breach of *civilitas* on the part of his accusers; an outrage which was made personally insulting to himself by the fact that it was committed on a man who was under the *tuitio regii nominis* and escorted by three Gothic officers. Henceforward nothing more was heard from the King about compelling the Pope to answer his accusers. He only pressed upon the Council (which now willingly pronounced a verdict clearing the Pope of the charges brought against him) that they should not merely decide this theoretical question, but practically end the dispute by assigning the churches and other ecclesiastical buildings in Rome to the persons who were canonically entitled to them, and compel the obedience of all the clergy to Symmachus, now the undoubtedly lawful Pope. All this difficult but necessary work

[1] See Cass. Var. i. 20.

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the feeble old bishops would gladly have thrust off upon him, but he answered with truth and spirit, 'That is your affair, not mine. Had it been my business, I and my good chiefs [1] would have settled it long ago.'

Synodus Palmaris, 23 Oct. 501, finally acquits Pope Symmachus of the charges brought against him.

The final decision of the whole controversy was attained in the Council called the *Synodus Palmaris*, which was held 'in the Portico of St. Peter's, which is called Palmaria [2].' This Council, which was called by its enemies, 'The Synod of the Incongruous Absolution,' was fiercely attacked by them on divers grounds, both of substance and of form [3]. It was defended by Ennodius in a long apology, in which, through a thick veil of almost unmeaning rhetoric, and amidst a profusion of Scripture texts pelted forth at random upon his antagonists, it is just possible to discern some of the main outlines of the controversy.

The Apology of Ennodius.

According to the taste of the age the Apology closes with three long imaginary addresses from St. Peter, St. Paul, and the city of Rome. In these addresses the good bishop reaches a higher level than in the rest of his composition, and the rhetorician once or twice speaks like an orator. His warm praises of

[1] Proceres.

[2] So says Anastasius, the papal biographer. We must not, therefore, as we might otherwise be inclined to do, connect it with the 'Ad Palmam' (within the city), where Theodoric harangued the people (Anon. Valesii, 66).

[3] One of the most important of these was, that if Symmachus were innocent he should have tendered his slaves to be examined, if necessary by torture, as to what had gone on in his house. The Pope's partisans, on the other hand, took refuge in the well-known principle of Roman law that no slave's evidence was to be taken against his master, except in cases of 'majestas.'

Theodoric's rule[1] impress us more in this tractate than in the panegyric which was composed to be recited before him. We understand also more fully the feeling of depression with which a Christian Roman of that day looked back upon the past history of his country, when we hear Rome lamenting that all her greatest sons, the Curii, the Torquati, and the Camilli, had been borne by her only to languish for ever in Tartarus because the Church had not regenerated them, that the Fabii and Decii who had saved others could not be saved themselves; that Scipio, who was ever a fervent lover of the right, was joined with the greatest criminals in the world to come because he was ignorant of Christ[2].

Victory of Symmachus, 502-506.

It took some time for the troubled waters to subside. We hear that Laurentius, who had come back to Rome, continued the strife for four years; but Symmachus was now strong in the approbation of councils, and the support of Theodoric, and, as far as we can see, his opponents, playing faint-heartedly a losing game, did not again venture on any actual breach of the public peace.

Bearing of the whole dispute on the limits of royal and papal power.

The whole controversy has, it will at once be seen, an important bearing on events of a much later date. Some of the questions mooted are the same as those which came up for solution at the Council of

[1] For instance, 'Sed Dei beneficia non tacebo: quia princeps noster rebus superat decora sermonum' (p. 199, Migne).

[2] 'Quae Curios, Torquatos, Camillos, quos Ecclesia non regeneravit, et reliquos misi plurimae prolis infecunda mater ad Tartarum :—quia Fabios servata patria non redemit, Deciis multo sudore gloria parta nil praestitit: profligata est operum sine fide innocentia: criminosis junctus est aequi observantissimus, quia Christum ignoravit, Scipio' (p. 206).

Constance. In so thorny a controversy it is hardly possible to frame any proposition which may not be attacked from one side or the other; but perhaps we shall be safe in asserting these :—

I. The right of the King, as head of the State, to convene a Council by his own authority was asserted on the one side and denied on the other.

II. But the *tacit* assent of the Pope cured the informality of the Council, even in the eyes of ecclesiastics.

III. It was *not* formally denied that the Pope, like other subjects of the King, was subject to *his* jurisdiction for such an offence as adultery. But—

IV. It *was* strenuously denied that a Council (consisting as it did of his ecclesiastical inferiors) could sit in judgment on a Pope. And in the end this contention practically prevailed[1].

Should the Pope be tried before King or Council?

We can see at once the great difference between the third and fourth points. To subject a Pope to the jurisdiction of the bishops in his obedience was like bringing a captain to trial before the soldiers of his

[1] In this connection I must refer the student who is desirous of enquiring further into the matter to the valuable monograph by Herm. Usener on the relation of the Roman *Senate* to the Church in the days of the Ostrogoths (in 'Commentationes Philologae in honorem Theod. Mommseni': Berlin, 1877). The author claims for the Senate at this period a large share in the practical regulation of the affairs of the Church, and even some right to be consulted as to the definition of her doctrines. The point is a most important one, especially if Usener be correct in maintaining that these functions of the Senate belonged to it as heir of the rights of the *laity* in the Primitive Church. Ecclesiastically my sympathies are entirely on Herr Usener's side: but I scarcely think he has yet made out his case, though he certainly shows cause for further enquiry.

company—a proceeding necessarily subversive of all discipline. But that was not saying that the Pope, who was still no temporal sovereign but a subject,—either of the Emperor or the King—need give no account to the Head of the State, for acts which he had committed in defiance of its laws. The successor of St. Peter was responsible for the exercise of his spiritual authority to no man. But if Symmachus committed adultery or murder, he must answer for the deed to our lord Theodoric in his palace at Ravenna.

Theodoric comes out well from the dispute.

The history of the strife exhibits in a favourable light the sound sense and statesmanship of the Ostrogothic King. He has no desire to meddle in matters ecclesiastical. His one anxiety is to see that *civilitas* be maintained and its assailants punished. 'A free Church in a free—or at all events in a well-ordered—State' is practically his maxim. He makes one or two mistakes, but shows his statesmanship in this more than anything, that he knows how to retrieve his mistakes, and is not, by a foolish craving after consistency or blind self-love, enticed into the common blunder of letting the first error drag him on into a series of other errors each greater than its predecessor.

Fifth Council, 6 Nov. 502.

The only other act of the Pontificate of Symmachus which need be noticed here is his share in the proceedings of another council, the fifth, which was held at St. Peter's on the 6th of November, 502. Addressing the assembled fathers of the Church, he recommended that the authors of the recent schism, who had been led away by love of dominion and had cast off the yoke of the Church, should be left to the mercy of God if they were not too hardened to accept of it. After

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502.

Odovacar's decrees repudiated.

proclaiming this somewhat dubious amnesty, he brought before the notice of the Council the encroachment on the rights of the Church of which Odovacar had been guilty twenty years before. In order to bring the matter more vividly before them, the deacon Hormisdas, a man who was himself one day to be Pope, read the decree once issued by the illustrious Basilius in the name of the most excellent King Odovacar. The particulars of that certainly somewhat daring piece of legislation have been already detailed[1]. The holy fathers gasped with indignation when they heard once more the language of a layman, though a king, arrogating to himself the absolute nomination of a successor to the Papal throne, and, what was even more audacious, inflicting the penalty of anathema on the alienators of ecclesiastical property. Speaker after speaker interrupted the reader, pointing out successive violations of the canons by this decree: and when each one had finished, again the calm voice of the deacon Hormisdas was heard, perhaps indicating by sarcastic emphasis his own dislike of the document of which he was the unwilling expositor. After heartily condemning the decree and declaring that, as wanting the Papal sanction, it was utterly invalid, the Council proceeded to re-enact, in a regular manner, the really valuable portion of it,—that which forbade the alienation of the property of the Church; making, however, an exception on behalf of houses in Rome, which the clergy, if they found themselves unable to bear the expense of keeping them up, were at liberty to sell, accounting scrupulously for the proceeds of the sale.

[1] p. 143.

After sixteen years, the eventful pontificate of Symmachus came to an end. When he died, Cassiodorus was in Rome, delighting in the shadowy glories of his year of office as Consul. He was admirably adapted for the task which naturally devolved upon him, of allaying the bitter spirit of contending factions, of soothing the wounded self-love of the Senate which had probably never been heartily reconciled to the victory of Symmachus, and inducing it to co-operate peaceably with the popular leaders among the clergy in the election of a new pope.

Death of Symmachus, 19 July, 514.

The scandals of a contested election were avoided, and, after an unusually short vacancy of seven days, the Papal seat was again filled; the new occupant being Hormisdas the Campanian, the reader of the obnoxious decree of Odovacar: a man who, as the event showed, was to be not only himself a pope, but also the father of a pope.

Election of Hormisdas, 20 July, 514.

The chief events of the pontificate of Hormisdas have already been told in the chapter describing Theodoric's relations with Constantinople. He was well fitted to conduct such a struggle as that in which he was engaged with Anastasius, and to reap, with cold complacency, the uttermost fruits of the victory which was offered him by Justin.

Pontificate of Hormisdas, 20 July, 514. to 6 Aug. 523.

There was again a short vacancy and an undisputed succession. On the 13th of August, 523, John, a Tuscan, first of the long line of Popes who have borne the name, if they have not all imitated the saintliness, of the beloved Disciple, sat in the chair of St. Peter.

Election of Pope John I, 13 Aug. 523.

The new Pope came to his dignity at a difficult and anxious time. Four years had now elapsed since the

Difficulties of the Pope's

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close of the schism, and during those years, while Justin's relations with the Roman Church had been excellent, his relations with the Italian King appear to have been growing steadily worse. How the chasm began to yawn between Romans and Goths, and how Theodoric, challenged to decide, declared himself on the side of his own nation, will be told in the next chapter. It is sufficient here to note that the year of John's accession to the Papacy is also the year when, by Theodoric's orders, Boethius was shut up in prison.

position towards the King.

523.

524. Justin's persecutions of the Arians.

The next year, honoured by the Emperor Justin's assuming for the second time the consular title, was marked by a decided step taken by that Emperor in the direction of intolerance. Hitherto Justin, while persecuting severely the Manicheans and all heretics of that class, had left the Arians untouched, and seems even to have alleged, as a reason for his tolerance, that they professed the same religion as Theodoric. Now, however, this exception in their favour was suddenly and harshly terminated[1]. Everywhere the churches of the Arians were reconsecrated with Catholic rites, and they themselves were made to understand that the time had gone by when they could be allowed to continue to disbelieve in the Homoousion.

Theodoric begins a policy of reprisal.

Theodoric, irritated by the insult to himself, and disgusted by such an ungrateful return for *his* impartial tolerance, now began to lose his temper, and under the influence of ill-temper not only departed from the principles of a lifetime, but committed one of the greatest mistakes in policy which it was possible to perpetrate. He, whose one great glory it had been

[1] Anastasius Bibliothecarius is here our chief authority.

to make no distinction between creed and creed, began to entertain the idea of a persecution of the Catholics in Italy, by way of reprisal for the persecution of Arians in Thrace. And, in order to change the purpose of the Emperor, he committed the astounding folly of sending the Pope to Constantinople. No two pieces on the political chess-board ought, for the safety of his kingdom, to have been kept further apart from one another than the Pope and the Emperor: and now, by his own act, he brings these pieces close together. Summoning Pope John to Ravenna, he signified his pleasure that the head of the Catholic Church should visit Constantinople as his ambassador, and should inform Justin that, unless he restored their churches to the Arians, the sword of Theodoric would ravage the whole of Italy. The Pope, sick and infirm, besought with tears to be excused from so degrading and unsuitable a mission, but the King, in whom the blood of all his Amal ancestors was now boiling, would take no denial, and the unhappy priest, cowed into submission, consented to set forth[1]. The mission was

524.

He determines to send the Pope on a mission to Constantinople.

525.

[1] Here is the account of the matter given by the Anonymus Valesii:—

'The King returning [from the death of Boethius] in a fury, and unmindful of the blessings of God, thought that he could intimidate Justin by an embassy, and summoning to Ravenna John, the chief of the Apostolic See, he said to him, "Walk [ambula] to Justin the Emperor, and tell him among other things to restore the reconciled heretics to the Catholic [Arian] faith." To whom Pope John made answer, "What thou art about to do, oh King, do quickly. Lo, I stand here in thy sight. I will not promise to do this thing for thee, nor to say this to the Emperor. In any other matters which thou mayest lay upon me, God helping me, I may be able to succeed." Then the King being angry ordered a ship to be prepared, and placed him on board

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525.

in outward show a brilliant one. Three ex-consuls, Theodorus [1], Importunus [2], and Agapetus [3], and one patrician, a second Agapetus, went in the train of the Pontiff. Miracles marked their course. At Corinth, a nobleman's horse which had been lent for the Pope's use absolutely refused thenceforward to be ridden by a woman, the owner's wife, whose tractable steed it had been till that day. The nobleman, making a merit of necessity, sent the creature, possessed of such nice spiritual discernment, to the Pope, and besought him, with many prayers, to regard it as his own [4]. At the entrance into Constantinople, a blind man imploring his aid, and touched by the Pontiff's hand, received his sight.

Excitement at Constantinople over the Pope's visit.

Everywhere there were joyous excitement and expectation at the arrival of the successor of St. Peter in the New Rome; an event, men said, which had never happened since Silvester came to visit its founder Constantine. Justin, with all his Court, and, so it seemed, the whole city of Constantinople, streamed forth with crosses and candles to meet the ambassadors at the twelfth milestone. Prone on the ground the

with other bishops, to wit Ecclesius of Ravenna, Eusebius of Fano, Sabinus of Campania, and two others, together with the following Senators, Theodorus, Importunus, Agapitus, and another Agapitus. But God, who does not desert his faithful worshippers, brought them prosperously to their journey's end. Then the Emperor Justin met him on his arrival as if he were St. Peter himself, and having heard his message promised that he would comply with all his demands, except that the converts who had given themselves to the Catholic faith could by no means be restored to the Arians.'

[1] Consul in 505.

[2] Consul in 509.

[3] Consul in 517.

[4] Dialogues of Pope Gregory, lib. 3. cap. 2.

Emperor, whom all other men adored, adored the weary Pontiff. Sick and anxious as he was, it was impossible for John not to feel that it was a great day for the Papacy. When Easter-day came the Pope, taking the place of honour at the right hand of the Patriarch of Constantinople, celebrated Mass according to the Latin use in the great Cathedral[1]. Nay, so far, according to one rather doubtful story[2], did Justin carry his devotion to his distinguished guest, that, though now in the eighth year of his reign, and once crowned already by the Patriarch of Constantinople, he solicited and obtained the honour of a second coronation from his papal visitor.

Result of the mission.

As to the success of John's intercession with Justin it is not easy to speak positively[3]. The authorities who are most nearly contemporary assert very clearly that the prayers and tears of the Pope and his colleagues prevailed, and that the Emperor granted all their requests except that for the reconversion to Arianism of the new-made Catholics, which was deemed a thing impossible. Thus, they say, was Italy liberated from the fear of the vengeance of Theodoric. Modern papal historians like Baronius, eager to vindicate the Pope from the stain of advocating religious toleration, vehemently contend against this statement, and ask with some force, 'Why then the rage of Theodoric on the Pope's return, if he had done, with one inconsiderable exception, all that he was ordered to do?'

[1] Marcellinus Comes, s. a. [2] In Anastasius.

[3] The letter attributed to Pope John in his prison, and quoted by Baronius (ix. 349), which might, if genuine, have thrown some light on these transactions, is now considered to be a forgery.

BOOK IV. CH. 11. 525.

Perhaps we may fairly conclude that the Pope deserved the anger of both parties; of the Catholics for asking for and obtaining things which were in his view unlawful, and of the King for throwing out hints and commencing negotiations inconsistent with his loyalty as a subject. The maxim—

> 'To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man,'

was one the spirit of which had been disregarded by Pope John, and he paid the penalty.

Return of the Pope to Ravenna, 526.

On his return to Ravenna, early in 526, the Pope found the King in no friendly mood, broken probably in health and sore against all the supposed abettors of Boethius and Symmachus in their treasonable practices with Constantinople. John himself and his three ex-consular colleagues were thrown into prison [1], and there lingered several months. The hardships of the prison life were too much for the already enfeebled health of the Pontiff, and he died in confinement on the 18th of May, 526 [2], one hundred and four days before the death of the King himself.

Death of Pope John I, 18 May, 526.

Grievous mistake of Theodoric.

Thus did Theodoric, whose whole reign had been pervaded by the attempt to harmonise Goth and Roman, and to rule without partiality over Catholic and Arian, cruelly wound the feelings of his Roman subjects by degrading the person of the Pope, and end his career by making the one man to whom the eyes of all Catholics turned with reverence—a martyr.

[1] The Patrician Agapetus had died on the journey out, at Thessalonica.

[2] This is the date in the Liber Pontificalis, which however erroneously makes the interval before the death of Theodoric 97 days instead of 104. See Duchesne, i. 277.

Toleration is a noble principle, but it cannot be taken up and laid down at pleasure. He who would earn the glory of a tolerant king must be tolerant even in the presence of intolerance: tolerant even to the end. If we may take a simile from horsemanship, it is of no use for the rider to keep his temper with a timid, shying horse through ten vagaries, if at the eleventh he loses patience and brings the whip down in heavy wrath. All his previous self-restraint goes for nothing, and his ill-temper spoils the temper of his steed.

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CHAPTER XII.

BOETHIUS AND SYMMACHUS.

Authorities.

Sources:—

The ANONYMUS VALESII and the *Philosophiae Consolatio* of BOETHIUS, described in the text. A handy and scholarly edition of the latter by R. Peiper has appeared in Teubner's Series of Greek and Roman Authors (Leipzig, 1871).

Also the *Anecdoton Holderi*, consisting of a few paragraphs appended to a tenth-century MS. of the Institutiones Humanarum Rerum of CASSIODORUS, and apparently copied from a short paper written by Cassiodorus himself. The MS. is now in the Grand-ducal Library at Carlsruhe, and has been ably commented upon by Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1877).

Guides:—

'Boethius: an Essay by Hugh Fraser Stewart' (1891), an expansion of the Essay which won the Hulsean Prize in 1888, is a very thorough and satisfactory piece of work, especially rich in its account of the Boethius-literature of the Middle Ages. The author puts a rather lower value than I have done on the *Anecdoton Holderi*.

Boethius and Symmachus not religious martyrs.

THE greatest mistake, if not the greatest crime, which sullied the fame of Theodoric, was the order given by him for the execution of Boethius and Symmachus. Coming as these executions did so near in time to the imprisonment and death in prison of Pope John, they easily acquired an ecclesiastical colour which did not of right belong to them: and thus these two noble, if somewhat mistaken men, who really perished as martyrs to the great name of Rome and the memory of the world-conquering Republic, have been surrounded

by a halo of fictitious sanctity as martyrs to the cause of Christian orthodoxy. BOOK IV. CH. 12.

To clear the ground, it will be well first of all to suffer our previous guide, the *Anonymus Valesii*, to tell us the tragic story, as it was recounted in ecclesiastical circles at Ravenna about a generation after the event.

After describing Theodoric's residence at Verona, the resort thither of the Jews of Ravenna with their complaint about their ruined synagogue and the stern order for restitution made by the King [1], the Anonymus thus continues:—

Version of the Anonymus Valesii.

'From this event the devil found occasion to subvert the man [Theodoric] who had been [up to this time] governing the republic well and without cause for complaint. For he presently ordered that the oratory and altar of St. Stephen, at the fountains in the suburb of Verona, should be overthrown. Then he commanded that no Roman should bear any arms, not even allowing them to carry a knife.

Omens.

'Also a poor woman, of the Gothic nation, lying under a porch not far from the palace of Ravenna, gave birth to four dragons: two were seen by the people to be carried along in the clouds from the west to the east, and then to be cast into the sea: two were captured [2], having one head between them. There appeared a star with a torch, which is called a comet, shining for fifteen days, and there were frequent earthquakes.

'After these things the king began, upon the least occasion that he could find, to flame out in wrath against the Romans. Cyprian, who was then Reporter

[1] See p. 269.

[2] 'Duo portati sunt.'

BOOK IV. CH. 12. to the High Court of Justice[1], afterwards Count of the Sacred Largesses and Master [of the Offices], urged

523. Cyprian's accusation of Albinus. by cupidity, laid an information against Albinus the Patrician, that he had sent letters to the Emperor Justin hostile to the rule of Theodoric. This accusation he, upon being summoned, denied, and thereupon Boetius the Patrician, who was Master of the Offices, said in the King's presence: "False is the information of Cyprian, but if Albinus did it, both I and the whole Senate did it with one accord. It is false, my lord oh

Reply of Boethius. King!" Then Cyprian, with hesitation, brought forward false witnesses not only against Albinus, but also against his champion Boetius. But the King laid snares for the Romans, and sought how he might slay them: he put more confidence in the false witnesses than in the Senators. Then were Albinus and Boetius taken in custody at the baptistery of the church [at Ticinum ?]. But the King called for Eusebius, Prefect

524. of the city of Ticinum, and passed sentence against Boetius unheard: and soon after sent and ordered him

Boethius put to death by torture. to be killed on the Calventian property[2]. A cord was twisted for a very long time round his forehead, so that his eyes started from his head: and then at last in the midst of his torments he was slain with a club[3].'

The King's return in high wrath to Ravenna, and his ill-conceived scheme of sending the Pope to Con-

[1] Referendarius.

[2] Calvenzano, in the territory of Milan, a little distance from Melegnano (Marignan) according to Muratori (Annali, iii. 340).

[3] 'Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi ejus creparent (?), sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur.'

stantinople to plead for toleration to the Arians, are next described[1]. BOOK IV. CH. 12.

The Anonymus then continues: 'But while these things are going on, Symmachus the Head of the Senate, whose daughter Boetius had to wife, is led from Rome to Ravenna. But the King, fearing lest through grief for the loss of his son-in-law he should attempt anything against his kingdom, caused him to be accused and ordered him to be slain. Then Pope John returning from Justin was badly received by Theodoric and ordered to consider himself in disgrace. After a few days he died, and as the people were going in procession before his corpse, suddenly one of the crowd fell down, stricken by a demon, and when they had come with the bier to the place where he was, suddenly he stood up whole, and walked before them in the procession. Which when the people and senators saw, they began to cut off relics from the garment [of the Pope]. Thus, amid the extreme joy of the people, was his corpse led out beyond the gates of the city.

Death of Symmachus, 525; and of Pope John, 526.

'Then [another] Symmachus, a Jew, and an official in the royal *scholae*[2], at the bidding, not of the king, but of the tyrant, issued orders on the fourth day of the week, the seventh before the kalends of September [26 August], on the fourth indiction, in the consulship of Olybrius, that on the following Lord's Day the Arians should take possession of the Catholic basilicas. 526.
But He who suffers not His faithful worshippers to be oppressed by the aliens, soon inflicted on him the same sentence as on Arius the author of his religion. The

The Catholic churches to be given to the Arians.

[1] See p. 461.

[2] 'Symmachus scolasticus Judaeus.'

BOOK IV. CH. 12. 526. The King's illness, and death. King was attacked with diarrhœa, and after three days of incessant purgings, on the same day on which he promised himself to invade the churches, he himself lost both kingdom and life. Before he drew his last breath he appointed his grandson Athalaric to the kingdom. During his lifetime he made for himself His tomb. a monument of squared stone, a work of wonderful bigness, and sought for a gigantic stone, which he placed as the crowning of the edifice.'

(Here the Anonymus Valesii abruptly ends.)

The information here given us may be illustrated, if not greatly increased, by the hints as to the life and character of Boethius, which we obtain from his own writings and those of his contemporaries [1].

Birth and family of Boethius. *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius* [2] was born at Rome probably in, or very soon after, the year 480 [3]. His family was one of the most illustrious in Rome. He belonged to the *gens Anicia*, which, originally sprung from Praeneste, first emerges to notice in Roman history in the third century B.C., played a respectable, though not important, part in the times of

[1] The following is the paragraph of the 'Anecdoton Holderi' which relates to Boethius:—

'*Boethius dignitatibus summis excelluit. Utraque lingua peritissimus orator fuit: qui regem Theodorichum in senatu pro consulatu filiorum luculenta oratione laudavit. Scripsit librum de sancta trinitate et capita quaedam dogmatica et librum contra Nestorium. Condidit et carmen bucolicum. Sed in opere artis logicae, id est dialecticae, transferendo ac mathematicis disciplinis, talis fuit ut antiquos auctores aut aequipararet aut vinceret.*'

[2] For the form Boe*t*ius there is considerable MS. authority, but Usener has shown that the preponderating authority of MSS. is in favour of Boe*th*ius. The common people at Rome had a difficulty in pronouncing *th*: hence the corruption.

[3] See Usener, p. 40.

the Republic, and, simply by living on through the wars, proscriptions, and massacres of the Empire, became a large and mighty kinship in the fourth century after Christ, when so many of the great names of the Republic had gone out for ever. To this clan belonged Probus, Olybrius, Symmachus, whose names have come under our notice in connection with the history of the later empire. Possibly also both Faustus and Festus, the two rival ministers of Theodoric, styled themselves Anicii[1].

BOOK IV. CH. 12.

The Anician Gens.

Thus his name Anicius indicated a real and genuine connection with one of the noblest families of the Lower Empire. Manlius was meant to carry back his lineage to the Manlii Torquati of the Republic; but here the connection was probably of that vague and shadowy kind which is met with in manufactured genealogies. Severinus was no doubt given to him in honour of one of the holiest names of the fifth century, the saintly hermit of Noricum.

His grandfather (?).

A Boethius, probably the grandfather of Severinus Boethius, was, as we have already seen, murdered side by side with his friend Aetius, on that disastrous day when 'the last of Romans' fell, by the orders of the last Theodosian princeling Valentinian III. In the next generation Aurelius Manlius Boethius, after being twice Praefectus Urbi, and once Praetorian Prefect, attained the dignity of Consul in 487, during the domination of Odovacar[2]. As this nobleman died in

452.

His father.

[1] There is an Anicius Faustus, of the fifth century, in the catalogue in Pauly's Real. Encyclopaedia, 1010. The Anicius Festus is of no later date than A. D. 217.

[2] See Usener's Anecdoton Holderi, p. 44, and the inscription there quoted from the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, v. 8120.

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early middle life, his son, the one who was to immortalise the name, was left an orphan while still a boy. Powerful relations, however, undertook his guardianship, the most noteworthy of them being Symmachus, who, when Boethius reached manhood, gave him Rusticiana his daughter to wife.

His guardian.

The names of Symmachus and Boethius are so inextricably intertwined by the fate which made their deaths part of the same dark tragedy, that it will be well to interrupt here the story of Boethius in order to give the main facts of the life of his father-in-law.

Symmachus,

Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, was sprung, like his younger contemporary, from the great Anician house. The most conspicuous of his ancestors was Symmachus the orator, consul under the great Theodosius in 391, leader of the senatorial party at that day, and one of the last great names of Rome's slowly dying Paganism. The story might well have been told in the earlier volumes of this history, of his eloquent remonstrance with the young and uncompromising Gratian, against the removal of the altar of Victory from the Senate-house, and of his earnest entreaties to Theodosius and his colleagues to undo the impious work and restore the altar to its place.

and his ancestors.

A hundred years had wrought great changes in the attitude of the Roman nobles towards the unseen world. The Symmachus with whom we have now to deal—a man in many respects resembling his great ancestor, like him head of the Senate and enthusiastic for its glory—has become an earnest member of the Christian Church, and shows his fidelity to Rome by

upholding the standard of Catholic orthodoxy against the Arian Theodoric.

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His generally friendly attitude towards Theodoric.

Not, however, that we have any reason to suppose that, during the greater part of his life, Symmachus occupied an unfriendly position to the Ostrogothic government. He supported his namesake, Pope Symmachus[1], in his controversy with Laurentius, and, during the greater part of that struggle, was no doubt fighting on the same side as the King. He had held the dignity of Consul in 485 under Odovacar. He became *Praefectus Urbi*[2] under Theodoric, thus attaining the rank of an Illustris; and he also received the proud title of Patricius. By right of seniority he had risen by the year 524 to the venerable position of Head of the Senate[3], corresponding pretty closely with the high, but unofficial pre-eminence enjoyed in England by 'the Father of the House of Commons.' A man of correct and stately eloquence, of irreproachable character; the Cato of his age, but with the old Stoic virtues softened and refined by his Christian faith; a diligent student, and the author of a Roman history in seven books, a man also full of fine local patriotism for the great city which was his home, and willing to spend some of his vast wealth freely in the repair of her public buildings—such is

His offices,

and character.

[1] I think there is no reason to suppose any family tie between the Consul and the Pope (who was a Sardinian by birth). For some reason or other, Symmachus seems to have been a favourite name at this time.

[2] This may be considered as proved by the letter addressed to him by the King (Cass. Var. ii. 14). Perhaps also Variarum iv. 6 was sent to him in the same capacity.

[3] *Caput Senati* (sic) is the form used by Ammianus and Anonymus Valesii.

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the Symmachus of the age of Theodoric as he is represented to us by his admiring contemporaries [1].

The friendship of the elder and younger nobleman, crowned at length by the union which made Boethius the son-in-law of Symmachus, is a pleasing picture in an age in which we meet with little else than the rottenness of civilisation and the roughness of barbarism.

Career of Boethius.

To the career of the younger Senator we now return. Boethius was an ardent student of Greek

[1] The chief authorities for the life of Symmachus are, (1) two affectionate allusions to him in the *Philosophiae Consolatio* of Boethius (ii. 3 and 4), who calls him *pretiosissimum generis humani decus, Symmachus*; (2) two letters of Ennodius, vii. 25, viii. 28 (the latter is not addressed to him, but speaks of sending a letter to him for emendation), and the Paraenesis of the same author (Opusc. vi), in which he praises Symmachus and other members of the Roman nobility in very glowing language; (3) the letters of Cassiodorus (Var. ii. 14, iv. 6 and 51); the last, giving him a commission to repair the Theatre of Pompey at the royal expense, is the one which describes his good deeds to the city of Rome; (4) and most important, the recently discovered memorandum (Anecdoton Holderi, ed. Usener, 1877), in which a contemporary, apparently Cassiodorus himself, thus describes him:—

'*Symmachus, patricius et consul ordinarius, vir philosophus, qui antiqui Catonis fuit novellus imitator, sed virtutes veterum sanctissima religione transcendit. Dixit sententiam pro allecticiis in senatu, parentesque suos imitatus, historiam quoque Romanam septem libris edidit.*'

The *allecticii* for whom Symmachus spoke, were, if Usener's conjecture be correct, the men who had received official promotion in the reign of Odovacar, and whose right to retain the dignity so acquired Symmachus defended.

The 'parent' whose historical activity Symmachus imitated was, according to Usener, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus (who died in 394), an ancestor by the mother's side. But seeing that Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180, ed. Migne) calls the elder

philosophy, but we have no evidence that he ever visited Greece. The notion that he actually studied at Athens seems to have been chiefly derived from the misunderstanding of a figurative expression of Cassiodorus as to his familiarity with Greek science[1]. He early attained high rank in the State. Consul at about the age of thirty, and apparently even before that time dignified with the honour of the Patriciate, he was evidently, in those years of adolescence and early middle age, in high favour with the Ostrogothic King. His heart, however, was not in the stately presence-chamber of king or prefect, not with the shouting and excited crowd who lined the dusty hippodrome, but in the delightful retirement of his library. Here, in this temple of philosophy, adorned as its walls were with ivory and glass, did he hold converse deep into the night with the heavenly visitant, who was to come to him again in far other environment and cheer the squalid solitude of his dungeon[2]. 510.

His literary work.

The chief literary object of Boethius was to familiarise

Symmachus λογογράφος, which may mean historian as well as orator, we may perhaps conjecture that we have here an allusion to some lost history written by *that* ancestor of Symmachus Junior.

[1] Var. i. 45: 'Sic enim Atheniensium scholas *longe positus* introisti . . . ut Graecorum dogmata doctrinam feceris esse Romanam.'

[2] 'Haeccine est bybliotheca [it is Philosophy whom he addresses] quam, certissimam tibi sedem, nostris in laribus, ipsa delegeras, in qua mecum saepe residens de humanarum divinarumque rerum scientia disserebas?' (Phil. Cons. i. 4); and again, in Philosophy's reply, 'Itaque non tam me loci hujus quam tua facies movet, nec bybliothecae potius comptos ebore ac vitro parietes quam tuae mentis sedem requiro' (Phil. Cons. i. 5).

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his countrymen with what he deemed best in Greek speculation; carrying on the work which had been commenced by Cicero, and applying it to some writers whom it was harder to treat in a popular manner than those whom Cicero had expanded. He translated, Cassiodorus tells us[1], Pythagoras for the theory of music, Ptolemy for astronomy, Nicomachus for arithmetic, Euclid for geometry. But the chief work of these prosperous days, and that by which he most profoundly influenced the thoughts of after-times, was his commentaries on the logical treatises of Aristotle. The Categories, the Syllogism, the Analytics, and the Topics, with some minor treatises, thirty books in all, were translated by this indefatigable scholar, heir to one of the greatest names and one of the finest fortunes in Rome, but intent on placing philosophical truth within the reach of his fellow-countrymen. It seems to have been in great measure through the translations and commentaries of Boethius that the mediaeval Schoolmen made their acquaintance with the philosopher of Stagira. From him, at least in part, they derived the materials for the long war of words between the Nominalists and Realists; though Boethius himself, 'rushing into the battle at once with the valour of his race and his own personal intrepidity, gravely and peremptorily decides a question in which the doctors of Europe for centuries were to engage[2], by avowing himself a Realist. Boethius's own belief in the absolute existence of the Aristotelian

His influence on the schoolmen of the Middle Ages.

[1] Variae, i. 45.

[2] I take this quotation from the Rev. F. D. Maurice's 'Mediaeval Philosophy,' from whose sketch of Boethius the greater part of the above paragraph is borrowed.

conception, Genus, Species, Difference, Property, and Accident, is firm and immutable, and the ardour of his conviction impressed itself on many generations of his readers.

An avowed Realist.

Doubtful benefit of his writings.

On the whole the encyclopaedic labours of Boethius, though in the very highest degree honourable to the worker, have perhaps been of somewhat doubtful benefit to the world. It has been admirably said, by one well fitted to understand his intellectual position[1], 'Qualities, quantities, magnitudes, multitudes—who does not see that these names were building a prison for Boethius, of which the walls were far higher and more impenetrable than those of the one to which Theodoric consigned him? There was positively no escape, above, below, through ceiling or pavement, for one confined within this word-fortress: scarcely an aperture, one would have thought, for air or light to enter in.' And great as the authority of Boethius was for many centuries on the science of music as known to the ancient world, it seems to be thought, by those best qualified to judge, that his own knowledge of the subject was somewhat inaccurate, and that by going back to the Pythagorean scale he really retarded the scientific development of the art[2].

Boethius as a mechanician.

But Boethius was more than a mere student, however laborious; more than a populariser of the work of other men, however successful. He was also a highly skilled mechanician—a character which since the days

[1] Rev. F. D. Maurice (ubi supra).

[2] So says Sir G. A. Macfarren in his article 'Music' in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, where he even asserts that 'the very eminence of Boethius makes it matter of regret that he ever wrote upon Music.'

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of Archimedes had not been greatly affected even by the philosophers of Greece, and which a mere Roman noble might have been in danger of despising as beneath his dignity. Whenever Theodoric and his ministers were in want of advice on a mechanical, or (to use the modern term) on a chemical question, Boethius was the person to whom they naturally had recourse. If Gundobad the Burgundian was to be flattered and awed by an exhibition of Italian skill, Boethius must construct the wonderful water-clock which was to mark out the length of each successive solar day, the orrery (as we should call it) which was to imitate the movement of the solar system [1]. If a skilful player on the cithara was to be sent to the court of Clovis the Frank, Boethius must select the performer [2]. If the life-guards [3] complained that the paymaster was putting them off with coins of inferior weight and fineness, Boethius was called upon, as Archimedes in a similar case by Hiero of Syracuse, to detect the fraud [4]. That these friendly and familiar relations between the subject and his King should terminate in the dungeon, the cord, and the bludgeon, is one of the saddest pages in the history of courts.

In addition to his other occupations, Boethius entered the thorny labyrinth of theological controversy. A debate, which was carried on for many generations, as to the identity of Boethius the philosopher with Boethius the theologian, is now finally settled by the language of the fragment so often referred to [5], which asserts that 'he wrote a book concerning the holy Trinity, and

[1] Variae, i. 45.
[2] Ibid. ii. 40.
[3] Domestici.
[4] Variae, i. 10.
[5] Anecdoton Holderi.

some dogmatic chapters and a book against Nestorius. He also wrote a bucolic poem.'

Boethius as a statesman.

A nobleman with these various endowments, philosopher, musician, astronomer, mechanician, poet, theologian, and the best writer of Latin prose of his century, was certainly a considerable figure on the stage of history. We have now to consider him in his character of politician—a character which one is disposed to think it would have been well both for him and for Italy that he had never assumed. He tells us, in a review of his past career[1], that it was in obedience to the teachings of Plato that he entered the domain of politics. Plato had said that states would be happy if either philosophers were kings or kings philosophers. He had also declared that the wise ought to take a share in political affairs, in order to prevent the disaster and ruin which would fall upon the good if the helm of the State were to be left in the hands of dishonest and immoral men.

His reasons for entering into public life.

'Guided by this authority,' says he in his imagined colloquy with Philosophy, 'I sought to translate into practical and public life the lessons which I had learned from thee in the secrecy of the study. Thou, and the God who breathed thee into the souls of the wise, are my witnesses, that nought moved me to the acceptance of office but the desire to promote the general welfare of my fellow-citizens. Hence came those bitter and implacable discords with scoundrels, and hereby was I strengthened to do what all must do who would keep a clear conscience, despise the anger of the great when I knew that I was championing the right.

[1] Philosophiae Consolatio, i. 4.

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His disputes with wrong-doers.

'How often have I met the rush of Cunigast when coming on open-mouthed to devour the property of the poor! How often have I baffled Trigguilla the royal chamberlain[1] in some course of injustice which he had begun and all but completed! How often have I interposed my influence to protect the poor creatures whom the unbridled avarice of the barbarians was for ever worrying with false accusations!

'Never did any one turn me aside from right to wrong-doing. When I saw the fortunes of the Provincials being ruined at once by private robbery and by the public taxes, I grieved as much as the sufferers themselves. At a time of severe famine, when a rigorous and unaccountable order of "coemption" was like to strike the whole province of Campania[2] with poverty, I commenced in the public interest, *and with the knowledge of the King,* a struggle against the Praetorian Prefect, which was crowned with success, and led to the abandonment of the coemption.'

In these Boethius co-operated with Theodoric.

The reader will notice that in the above passage Boethius fairly enough attributes to Theodoric knowledge and approval of his attempts to preserve the Provincials of Campania from oppression. And indeed, on comparing this passage with those letters of Cassiodorus[3] which describe the disgrace of Faustus, we can hardly doubt that the latter nobleman is the Praetorian Prefect here referred to, and that Boethius co-operated with Cassiodorus to obtain at least a temporary suspension of the powers of so grasping and tyrannical a governor.

[1] 'Regiae praepositum domus.'

[2] Equivalent to the Latium and Campania of Republican geography, united.

[3] iii. 20 and 21, and (probably) 27.

Boethius then mentions the case of 'Paulinus, a man of consular rank, for whose wealth the dogs of the palace were hungering and had in fancy already devoured it, but who was rescued by me from their hungry jaws.'

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So far we have heard nothing that is not in entire conformity with the uniform tenour of the Various Letters of Cassiodorus, nothing as to which we may not believe that the conduct of Boethius was wise, statesmanlike, and in perfect accord with the wishes of Theodoric and his great minister. Both Goths like Trigguilla, and Romans like Faustus, were continually, with Pacha-like voracity, scenting the prey of the subject Provincials, and it needed all the watchfulness and all the courage of the central government at Ravenna to detect and to punish their crimes.

Honours conferred on Boethius and his family.

It was no doubt partly in reward of such services, and in order to mark the King's appreciation of the character and attainments of his distinguished courtier, that honours and offices were bestowed on Boethius and his family. His own consulship made the year 510 illustrious. In 522 his two sons, Symmachus and Boethius, one bearing his own name, and the other that of his honoured father-in-law, notwithstanding their extreme youth, were arrayed in the consular robes. The proud father, little dreaming of the ruin which was already nigh at hand, addressed Theodoric from his place in the Senate in a brilliant speech of panegyric[1]. Afterwards, probably on the 1st of September in the same year, Boethius was promoted to the highly important and confidential post of Master of the Offices, which

[1] (Boethius) 'qui regem Theodorichum in senatu pro consulatu filiorum luculenta oratione laudavit' (Anecdoton Holderi).

dignity he held when the storm of the royal displeasure burst upon him.

We thus come to the case of Albinus. Again Boethius himself shall describe it to us, and while reading his words, it will be well to compare them with the shorter but generally harmonious account given by the Anonymus Valesii [1].

Case of Albinus.

'That Albinus the Consular might not undergo punishment upon a foregone conclusion of his guilt, I set myself against the wrath of the informer Cyprian. Great indeed were the animosities which I thereby sharpened against myself [namely, of Cyprian's party]; but I ought to have been all the safer with the rest [of the Senators], who knew that from my love of justice I had left myself no place of safety with the courtiers [2]. But, on the contrary, who were the informers by whom I was struck down? [They were Senators themselves.] Basilius, long ago turned out of the King's service, was driven by pressure of debt to calumniate my name. Opilio and Gaudentius, when, on account of their numberless and varied frauds, they had been ordered by a royal decree to quit the country, not choosing to obey, sought the shelter of the sanctuary. This came to the King's ears, and he ordered that, unless by a given day they had left Ravenna, they should be driven forth with a brand of infamy on their foreheads. What more stringent measure could have been adopted? Yet on that very day they laid their information against me, and that information was accepted. Was that a

The informers, Cyprian,

Basilius,

Opilio, Gaudentius.

[1] See p. 468.

[2] 'Sed esse apud ceteros tutior debui qui mihi amore justitiae nihil apud aulicos quo magis essem tutior reservavi.'

fitting reward for my services? Did the foregone conclusion to condemn me turn those accusers into honest men? Had Fortune no shame, if not for the innocence of the accused, at least for the villainy of the accusers?

Boethius' account of the charge against him.

'But perhaps you ask in fine, of what crime is it that I am accused. *I am said to have desired the safety of the Senate.* "In what way?" you ask. I am accused of having prevented an informer from producing certain documents in order to prove the Senate guilty of high treason. What is your advice then, oh my teacher? Shall I deny the charge in order that I may not bring disgrace upon you? But I did wish for the safety of the Senate, and shall never cease to wish for it. Shall I confess? That would be to play into the hands of the informer. Shall I call it a crime to have desired the safety of that venerable order? I can only think of their decrees concerning me as a reason why that should be a crime. But imprudence, though ever untrue to itself, cannot alter the nature of things, and, influenced as I am by the teaching of Socrates, I do not think it right either to conceal the truth or to admit a falsehood.

'How this may be [what may be my duty to the Senate now that it has deserted me,] I leave to be settled by thy judgment and that of the sages. In order that the truth and the real connection of the whole affair may not be hidden from posterity, I have drawn up a written memorandum concerning it. For, as for those forged letters, by which I am accused of having hoped for Roman freedom, why should I say anything about them? Their falsity would have been

The forged letters to Constantinople.

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manifest if I had been allowed to use the confession of the informers themselves, which is always considered of the greatest weight. For what chance of freedom, pray, is still left to us? Would, indeed, that there were any such chance. [Had I been examined in the King's presence] I would have answered in the words of Canius, who, when accused by Caius [Caligula] of being privy to the conspiracy against him, answered, "If I had known of it, thou shouldest have never known [1].'"

Boethius then expresses his wonder that a good God can suffer the wicked thus to triumph over the righteous. As an earlier philosopher had said, 'If there be a God, whence comes evil hither? And if there be none, whence comes good?'

He complains of the Senate's treatment of him.

'But let it be granted that it was natural for evil-minded men, who were thirsting for the blood of the Senate and of all good citizens, to seek to compass my ruin, because they saw in me the champion of both classes. But did I deserve this treatment at the hands of the Senate also? Since you [O Philosophy] ever present beside me, directed all my sayings and doings, you will remember, I think, that day at Verona, when the King, eager for a general slaughter, laboured to transfer the charge of treason brought against Albinus, to all the Senate. At what great peril to myself did I defend the innocence of the whole order [2]!

[1] I. e. 'I would have made the conspiracy a success.' We do not appear to have any other information about the conspiracy of Canius.

[2] 'Meministi, Veronae cum rex, avidus exitii communis, majestatis crimen in Albinum delatae ad cunctum senatus ordinem transferre moliretur, universi innocentiam senatus quanta mei periculi secuntate defenderim.'

You know that in all this I am putting forth nothing but the truth, and am indulging in no vain boastings. . . . My innocence has been more hardly dealt with than confessed guilt. Scarcely would an avowed criminal find *all* his judges unanimous against him, nor one disposed to make allowance for the frailty of the human mind, or to remember the inconstancy of Fortune. If I had been accused of wishing to burn the sacred edifices, to slay the priests with impious sword, to plot the murder of all good citizens, I should at least have been confronted with my accusers, and have either confessed my guilt or been convicted before I was punished. But now, at a distance of about 500 miles from my judges, dumb and undefended, I have been condemned to death and the forfeiture of my estate. For what? For too earnest love towards the Senate [my judges]. Assuredly they deserve that no one should ever again suffer on such a charge: a charge which even they who made it, saw to be so far from dishonourable that they were obliged to darken it with the admixture of some wickedness.

Charge of sacrilege and divination.

'They therefore falsely alleged that, in my pursuit of office, I had stained my conscience with sacrilege [1]. Whereas thou, present in my breast, hadst driven base cupidity from thence, and under thy holy eyes there was no room for sacrilege. Thou hadst daily instilled into mine ears and thoughts the great Pythagorean maxim, "Follow God [2]." How could I, whom thou hadst thus been fashioning into the divine likeness, seek to gain the favour of the baser spirits [of

[1] 'Ob ambitum dignitatis sacrilegio me conscientiam polluisse mentiti sunt.'

[2] ΕΠΟΥ ΘΕΟΝ.

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the under-world]? Moreover the innocent retirement of my home, the companionship of my honoured friends, the very presence of my father-in-law, a man holy and reverend as thou art, should have defended me from the suspicion of such crimes. But, alas! my very friendship with thee lent colour to the charge, and it was for this cause that I seemed likely to have practised divination, because I was known to be imbued with the teachings of Philosophy.'

Points proved by the statement of Boethius

It will not be needful to repeat to the reader any more of the sad ejaculations of Boethius. Failing that memorandum as to his defence, which he composed, and the loss of which leaves a lamentable gap in our knowledge of his case, we may take these few paragraphs as his plea against his accusers at the bar of history. With all its passionate declamation it does make some points of the story clearer.

not a case of Arian against orthodox,

(1) It is plain that Boethius was in no sense a martyr to orthodoxy. He was a Catholic, and Theodoric was an Arian, but that difference of creed had evidently no direct connection with the disgrace and death of the philosopher.

nor of Goth against Roman.

(2) Nor was it directly a case of Goth against Roman. The names of Gothic enemies which he mentions—Trigguilla, Cunigast, perhaps 'the dogs of the palace'—are all connected with his earlier life. In this latest act of the drama the 'delatores' against him are all Romans—Cyprian, Basilius, Gaudentius, Opilio. And this agrees with the hints of the Anonymus Valesii, who says that the informer was moved by cupidity; and with the language of Procopius, who declares that the wealth, the philosophic pursuits, the charity and the renown of Symmachus and Boe-

thius, had stirred up envy in the breasts of spiteful men who laid a false charge against them before Theodoric, that they were plotting a revolution[1]. Though the government is equally responsible on either hypothesis, it was Roman fraud, not Gothic force, which set the powers of government in motion.

He was condemned by the Senate.

(3) It was by *the Senate* that Boethius was condemned to death and proscription. Here, too, the ultimate responsibility is not removed from the king, before whose frown the slavish Senate trembled. As we do not accept it as any apology for the sanguinary deeds of a Tudor prince, that his Parliament was found willing to invest them with the forms of law, so too the condemnation of Boethius, if unjust, stains the memory of Theodoric equally, whether passed by the Conscript Fathers in Rome or by his own *Comitatus* at Ravenna. But how shall we think of the case if evidence were laid before them which the Senate, with all their good-will to the prisoner, could not ignore? At any rate the interposition of the Senate shows that we have not to do with a mere outbreak of lawless savagery on the part of the Gothic King.

Boethius was condemned partly as an astrologer and diviner.

(4) The case was strangely complicated by an accusation against Boethius, that he practised forbidden arts and sought to familiar spirits. Ridiculous as this

[1] Σύμμαχος καὶ Βοέτιος, ὁ τούτου γαμβρός, εὐπατρίδαι μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἤστην, πρώτω δὲ βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπάτω ἐγενέσθην. Ἄμφω τε φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκήσαντε καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελησαμένω οὐδενὸς ἧσσον, πολλοῖς τε ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν ἰασαμένω καὶ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα χωρήσαντε ἄνδρας ἐς φθόνον τοὺς πικροτάτους ἐπηγαγέτην. Οἷς δὴ συκοφαντοῦσι Θευδέριχος ἀναπεισθείς, ἅτε νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῦντας, τὼ ἄνδρε τούτω ἔκτεινε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο (Procopius, De Bello Gothico, i. 1; p. 11, ed. Bonn).

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accusation seems to us, we can easily see how the pursuits of so clever a mechanician as Boethius would in the eyes of the ignorant multitude give plausibility to the charge. The Theodosian code teemed with enactments against *Mathematici*[1], meaning, of course, primarily the impostors who calculated nativities and cast horoscopes. From many allusions in the 'Consolation' we infer that astronomy was to Boethius the most attractive of all the sciences. He would have been centuries in advance of his age if he had been able to divest his study of the heavenly bodies of all taint of astrological superstition[2]. The insinuation that a profound mathematician must needs possess unlawful means of prying into the future, was of course absurd; but it is not the barbarous ignorance of the Goth, but the superstitious legislation of generations of Christian Emperors, that must bear the blame of *this* miscarriage of justice.

The silence of Cassiodorus tells against Theodoric,

There is one more witness, (a sad and unwilling witness,) who must be examined, and then the evidence in this mysterious case will be all before the reader. Cassiodorus, in all the twelve books of his letters, makes, I believe, no reference, direct or indirect, to the death of Boethius and Symmachus.

[1] Take for instance Cod. Theod. ix. 16. 12: 'Mathematicos, nisi parati sint, Codicibus erroris proprii sub oculis Episcoporum incendio concrematis, Catholicae religionis cultui fidem tradere, nunquam ad errorem praeteritum redituri, non solum Urbe Roma, sed etiam omnibus civitatibus pelli decernimus.' This law was passed by Honorius in 409, a year before Alaric's capture of Rome.

[2] In fact he half confesses a belief in astrology in the following passage of the 'Consolation': 'Sive igitur famulantibus quibusdam providentiae divinis spiritibus fatum exercetur—*seu caelestibus siderum motibus*' (iv. 6).

This silence tells against Theodoric. Had the execution of the two statesmen been a righteous and necessary act, it is hardly likely that Cassiodorus would have so studiously avoided all allusion to the act itself, and to the share which he, the chief counsellor of Theodoric, may have had in the doing of it. As it is, we may almost imagine, though we cannot prove, that the minister, finding his master bent upon hot and revengeful deed, such as could only mar the good work of their joint lifetimes, retired from active co-operation in the work of government, and left his master to do or undo at his pleasure, unchecked by a word from him.

but he shows that Boethius has been unjust to his accusers.

Yet the evidence of Cassiodorus tells also somewhat against Boethius. The reader has seen in what tints of unrelieved blackness the philosopher paints all those who were concerned in his downfall. The letters of Cassiodorus, written after Theodoric's death, collected and published when their author was retiring from politics, give a very different impression of these men.

His character of Cyprian.

Cyprian, the accuser of Albinus, who was forced to become the accuser of Boethius also, appears to have been a Roman of noble birth, grandson of a consul[1], to have been appointed *referendarius* in the king's court of appeal, and in that capacity to have had the duty of stating the cases of the litigants, first from one point of view, then from the other. The fairness

[1] Opilio. We may fairly assume that the Opilio who was Consul in 483 was grandfather of Cyprian. Whether the Opilio who was Consul in 523 was father or brother of Cyprian we have no means of deciding. The former seems slightly the more probable theory.

with which he did this, the nimbleness of mind with which he succeeded in presenting the best points of each case without doing injustice to the other, often excited the admiration of the suitors themselves. Then, when Theodoric was weary of sitting in his court, he would often mount his horse and order Cyprian to accompany him in a ride through the whispering pine-wood of Ravenna. As they went, Cyprian would often, by the King's command, describe the main features of a case which was to come before the *Comitatus*. In his hands, the dull details of litigation became interesting to the Gothic King, who, even when Cyprian was putting a hopelessly bad case before him, moderated his anger at the impudence of the litigant, in deference to the charm of his counsellor's narration.

Cyprian, after some years' service as Referendarius, was sent on an important embassy to Constantinople, in which he successfully upheld his master's interests at the Imperial Court. He was afterwards, apparently after the execution of Boethius, appointed to the high office of chief Finance Minister of the kingdom [1].

Probable explanation of the motives of Cyprian.

One would have said that this was the record of a fair and honourable official career, and that he who pursued it was not likely to be a base and perjured informer. Rather does it suggest to the mind the painful position of a statesman who, Roman himself, knew that many other Romans were not dealing faithfully by his Gothic King, but, by underhand intrigues at Constantinople, were seeking to prepare a counter

[1] Count of the Sacred Largesses. The appointment was 'at the third Indiction.' This might be either 509 or 524, but the latter is much the more probable date.

revolution. His situation would thus be like that of a minister of Dutch William or Hanoverian George; bound in honesty to the king whose bread he is eating to denounce the treasons of the Jacobite conspirators around him, even though they be his countrymen and the king a foreigner. He names Albinus, whose guilt he is certain of. Boethius, the all-honoured and all-envied, steps forward, and thinks, by throwing the shelter of his great name over the defendant, to quash the accusation. With regret, but of necessity, Cyprian enlarges his charge, saying, 'Well, if you will have it so—and Boethius too.'

Cassiodorus' testimony as to Basilius.

Let us turn to the characters of the other accusers. It is true that Basilius, 'long ago turned out of the King's service,' may be the same as the Basilius who was accused along with Praetextus of being addicted to magical arts and whose case was handed over to the Prefect of the city for trial[1]. Basilius, however, is a somewhat common name, and we must not be too certain of this identification. But as to Opilio, we have strong evidence from Cassiodorus, which makes it almost impossible that the passionate invective of Boethius can be absolutely true. Opilio was evidently the brother of Cyprian, and probably grandson of the consul of 453, who was also called Opilio. In 527, four years after these events, he was raised by Amalasuntha, probably on the advice of Cassiodorus, to the responsible office of Count of the Sacred Largesses, which had been previously held by his brother. In the letters announcing his promotion to this office, the loyalty and truth of character, both of Opilio and Cyprian, are enthusiastically praised. 'Why should

and Opilio, who was brother to Cyprian.

[1] Cass. Var. iv. 22, 23.

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I describe the merits of his ancestors when he shines so conspicuously by the less remote light of his brother? They are near relations, but yet nearer friends. He has so associated himself with that brother's virtues that one is uncertain which of the two one should praise the more highly. Cyprian is a most faithful friend, but Opilio shows unshaken constancy in the observance of his promises. Cyprian is devoid of avarice, and Opilio shows himself a stranger to cupidity. Hence it comes that they have known how to keep faith with their sovereigns, because they know not how to act perfidiously towards their equals. It is in this unfettered intercourse that the character is best shown. How can such men help serving their lords honourably, when they have no thought of taking an unfair advantage of their colleagues[1]?'

Doubtless these official encomiums are to be received with caution, but, after making all due abatement, it is impossible to suppose that Cassiodorus would have deliberately republished letters, full of such high praises of men whom all his contemporaries knew to be, in truth, the base scoundrels described by Boethius.

Boethius abuses Decoratus, who is highly spoken of by other contemporaries.

In connection with this subject we must take also some words of the philosopher with reference to one of his colleagues in office. When he is musing on the vanity of human wishes, and showing why the honours of the State cannot satisfy man's aspirations after happiness, he says, or rather Philosophy says to him,

[1] 'Amicitiis ille praestat fidem; sed magnam promissis debet iste constantiam. Ille quoque avaritia vacuus, et iste a cupiditatibus probatur alienus. Hinc est quod norunt regibus servare fidem, quia nesciunt vel inter aequales exercere perfidiam. . . . Quomodo ergo sub puritate non serviant dominis suis, qui nesciunt illusisse collegis' (Cass. Var. viii. 17).

'Was it really worth while to undergo so many perils in order that thou mightest wear the honours of the magistracy with Decoratus, though thou sawest in him the mind of a base informer and buffoon?' Now Decoratus—the name is too uncommon to make it probable that there were two contemporaries bearing it—was a young nobleman of Spoleto, a man of some eminence as an orator, loyal, faithful, and generous. He died in the prime of life, and the King, who deeply regretted him, sought to repay some part of the debt owing to Decoratus by advancing in the career of office his younger brother Honoratus. Such is the picture of his character which we collect, not only from two letters of Cassiodorus [1], but also from one of Ennodius [2], and from the more doubtful evidence of his epitaph [3]. Are all these men's characters to be blasted, because of the passionate words of Boethius in his dungeon? Do not these words rather return upon himself, and can we not now see something more of his true character? To me they indicate the faults of a student-statesman, brilliant as a man of letters, unrivalled as a man of science, irreproachable so long as he remained in the seclusion of his library; but utterly unfit for affairs; passionate and ungenerous; incapable of recognising the fact that there might be other points of view beside his own; persuaded that every one who wounded his vanity must be a scoundrel, or at best a buffoon;—in short, an impracticable colleague, and, with all his honourable aspirations, an unscrupulous enemy.

Suggestions as to the real character of Boethius as a politician.

The reader has now before him all the evidence that

[1] Variarum, v. 3 and 4.

[2] iv. 17.

[3] Quoted in the notes to Ennodius, l. c. (Migne, lxiii. 78).

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End of the analysis of the case.

is forthcoming with reference to this most important but most perplexing State-trial. A historian shrinks from pronouncing his own verdict in such a case. His admiration and sympathy are due in different ways both to the author of the sentence and to its victim; and he can only extenuate the fault of Theodoric by magnifying, perhaps unduly, the fault of Boethius. But, after all the analysis that we have been engaged in, some short synthetical statement seems needful for the sake of clearness.

Attempted synthesis.

It was probably some time in the year 523 that Theodoric was first informed that some of the leading Senators were in secret correspondence with the Emperor. The tidings came at a critical time. In the previous year the great Ostrogoth had heard of his grandson Segeric's death, inflicted by order of his father, the Catholic King of Burgundy. In May or June of this year came the news that his own sister, the stately Queen of the Vandals, Amalafrida, was shut up in prison by the Catholic Hilderic. Must then 'the aspiring blood of' Amala 'sink in the ground'? Was there a conspiracy everywhere among these lesser lords of the Germans, both against the creed of their forefathers, and against the great Ostrogothic house which had been the pillar of the new European State-system? Such were the suggestions that goaded the old hero almost to madness. He had now just reached the seventh decade of life; and the temper so well kept in curb all through his middle years, since the day when he slew Odovacar, was beginning to throw off the control of the feebler brain of age.

The scene at Verona.

Then came the scene of the denunciation of Albinus.

It happened apparently at Verona, most likely in the High Court of Justice (*Comitatus*) of the King. Boethius generously steps forward to shield Albinus. Cyprian, driven into a corner, reluctantly accuses Boethius also. Of what was it that Albinus and Boethius were accused? This, which should be the plainest part of the whole transaction, is in fact the darkest. None of our authorities really enable us to reconstruct the indictment against the Senators. Boethius shrilly vociferates that he was accused of nothing but 'desiring the safety of the Senate,' which, taken literally, is absurd. But we have seen abundantly how indefinite and anomalous was the tie which bound both the Senate, and in some sort Theodoric himself, to the Empire. Is it possible that the letters which were sent by the senatorial party urged Justin to turn this shadowy senior-partnership into real supremacy, and especially claimed *for the members of the Senate that they should be judged only by the tribunals of the Empire, not by those of Theodoric?* Some such demand as this would explain the words of Boethius about 'desiring the safety of the Senate.' At the same time it was a proposal which, in the actual circumstances of both realms, meant really treason to Theodoric.

What were Albinus and Boethius accused of?

It seems probable that some letters of this or similar purport were actually signed by Boethius as well as by Albinus and forwarded to Constantinople. Boethius says that the letters which were produced against him were forged. Perhaps, in reality, they were tampered with, rather than forged from beginning to end. It was a case in which the alteration of a few words might make all the difference between that which was

The letters to Constantinople,

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perhaps tampered with by Gaudentius.

and that which was not consistent with a good subject's duty to Theodoric. If any such vile work were done, the author of it may have been Gaudentius, the chief object of the vituperations of the philosopher for whom we can produce no rebutting evidence from the pages of Cassiodorus.

Boethius condemned by the Senate without a hearing.

Whatever the accusation, and whatever the proofs, they appear to have been all forwarded to Rome, where the Senate, with base cowardice and injustice, trembling before the wrath of the King, unanimously found Boethius guilty of treason, and perhaps of sacrilege also. He was never confronted with his accusers, but was all the time lying in prison at Pavia or Calvenzano. Albinus disappears from the narrative, but was probably condemned along with Boethius.

His imprisonment and possible torture.

For some reason which is not explained to us Boethius was kept in confinement for a considerable time, probably for the latter half of 523 and the earlier half of 524. The King was evidently greatly enraged against him. Probably the recent consulships bestowed on the sons of the conspirator and the flowery panegyric which he had then pronounced on Theodoric quickened the resentment of the King by the stings of ingratitude and, as it seemed, successful deception. It is possible that the reason for this long delay may have been a desire to wring from Boethius the names of his fellow-conspirators; and if so, we dare not altogether reject the story told by the Anonymus Valesii of the tortures applied to him in the prison. In itself this writer's narrative is not of a kind that commands implicit faith, and one is disposed to set down the story of the twisted cord and the protruding eyes as a fit companion to that told a few lines before

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of the woman who gave birth to the dragons, and of their airy passage to the sea. The author is evidently misinformed as to some circumstances of the trial, since he makes the King, not the Senate, pass sentence on Boethius, and represents the sentence as soon[1] carried out, whereas the philosopher undoubtedly languished for a considerable time in prison after his condemnation[2].

Execution of Boethius. Mission of the Pope. Execution of Symmachus.

The death of Boethius occurred probably about the middle of 524. We have no means of ascertaining the date more accurately. Then came the ill-judged mission of the Pope to Constantinople; and before his return, apparently early in 525, the citation of the venerable Symmachus to Ravenna, and his execution. From the whole tenor of the narrative it is safe to infer that this was much more the personal act of Theodoric than the condemnation of Boethius had been. The evidence, if evidence there was, of conspiracy was probably far slighter. Fear was the King's chief counsellor, and, as ever, an evil counsellor. The course of argument was like that of Henry VIII in his later years, or the Committee of Public Safety in the French Revolution. 'Symmachus has lost his son-in-law; Symmachus must be disaffected to the monarchy; let Symmachus be prevented from conspiring—by the executioner.' It is clear, from the stories which were floating about in the next generation, that this act was the one which was most severely blamed by con-

[1] 'Mox.'

[2] The literal accuracy of the Anonymus is also rendered doubtful by the fact that both Anastasius Bibliothecarius (in the life of Pope John; Muratori, iii. 126) and Agnellus (Liber Pontificalis, ed. Holder Egger, p. 304) speak of Boethius as *beheaded*.

temporaries, and the one which lay heaviest on the King's own conscience.

In short, from such information as we can collect, it seems right to conclude,—

Conclusion: as to Theodoric,

(1) That the death of Boethius, though a grievous blunder, was, according to the principles of self-preservation acted upon by all rulers, not a crime.

(2) That if torture were employed, which is too probable but not proved, such a proceeding was an infamy.

(3) That the death of Symmachus was both a blunder and a crime.

as to Boethius.

But while condemning the conduct of Theodoric we may also lament the error of judgment which led the high-minded but visionary Boethius into the field of politics. He had doubtless noble dreams for the future of a reorganized and imperial Italy; dreams which entitle him to reach over eight centuries and clasp the hand of the Florentine poet, the author of the *De Monarchia*. But in that near future to which politicians must confine their gaze, the restoration of the Empire meant the carnival of the tax-collectors of Byzantium; the ascendancy of the Church meant the inroads of the fierce and faithless Frank. These evils would have been avoided and centuries of horror would have been spared to Italy, if the inglorious policy of Cassiodorus, the statesman of the hour, might have prevailed over the brilliant dreams of Boethius, the student and the seer.

The Philosophiae Consolatio.

I have purposely reserved to the last, till these matters of political debate were disposed of, the mention of the great work which has made the imprisonment of Boethius for ever memorable—his 'Consolation

of Philosophy.' The title of the book is ambiguous; but it need hardly be said that Philosophy is not the consoled one but the consoler. She indeed, at the end of the dismal tragedy, might well seem to need comfort for the loss of her favourite disciple. But in this book he, still living, describes how she braced and cheered him in his dungeon, when he was tempted to repine at his unmerited downfall, and to murmur at the triumph of the bad, at the apparent forgetfulness of the just Ruler of the world. BOOK IV. CH. 12.

Scheme of the book.

The scheme of the book is on this wise. The 'author of the bucolic poem,' sick and in prison, employs his lonely hours in writing verses, and thus he sings:—

Prologue.

'I, who once touched the lyre with joyful hand,
Now, in my grief, do tread sad ways of song.
Lo! at my side the tearful Muses stand
To guide my heartfelt elegy of wrong.

No tyrant's wrath deters these guests sublime
From journeying with me all my downward way;
These, the bright comrades of my joyous Prime,
And now, my weary Age's only stay.

Yes: weary Age. For Youth with Joy has fled,
And Sadness brings her hoar companion.
Untimely honours silver o'er my head,
Untimely wrinkles score my visage wan.

Oh! happy they from whose delightful years
Death tarries far, to come, when called, with speed.
But deaf is Death to me, though called with tears:
These tearful eyes he will not close at need.

While still my bark sped on with favouring breeze,
Me, Death unlooked-for all but swept away.
Now, when all round me roar the angry seas,
Life, cruel Life, protracts her tedious stay.

How oft you named me happy, oh my friends.
Not happy he, whose bliss such ruin ends.'

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Book I, Entrance of Philosophy.

Scarce has the mourning philosopher thus uttered his grief in song, when he lifts up his eyes and sees a mysterious form standing beside him. A woman, she seems, of venerable face, with gleaming eyes, with every sign of youthful vigour about her, and yet with something in her countenance which tells of life protracted through untold centuries. Her very stature is mysterious and indefinite. Now her head seems to touch the skies, and now she is only of the ordinary height of men. The raiment which she wears was woven by her own hands of finest gossamer thread, and is dark with age. On the lower hem of her robe is embroidered the letter P, on the upper one T[1]. (These letters, as we afterwards learn, stand for Practical and Theoretical Wisdom.) Upon the robe is embroidered the likeness of steps leading up from the lower letter to the higher[2]. In her right hand she bears some rolls of parchment; in her left a sceptre.

This is Philosophy, come to reprove and to comfort her downcast disciple. With sublime wrath she dismisses the Muses from the bed-side of the patient, pouring upon them names of infamy, and declaring that they are aggravating the disease which they pretend to heal. Boethius is *her* disciple, nourished on the doctrine of Eleia and the Academy, and by her Muses, not by their Siren voices shall his soul be

[1] In the original Π. and Θ. for Πρακτική and Θεωρητική.

[2] And Boethius adds—but here, I think, his desire to point a moral leads him to spoil his picture—that the lady's garment is all in rags, having been rent by the hands of violent men, who wave as trophies the pieces which they have torn away. These are sects of Philosophy, each of which has got hold of a little fragment of truth which it vaunts as its own.

cured. The Muses venture no reply, but with downcast looks and blushing faces silently depart.

Then Philosophy, sitting on the edge of his bed and looking into his face with sad eyes, sings a song of pity and reproof. 'Alas!' she says, 'for the darkness which comes over the mind of man. Is this he whose glance roved freely through the heavenly labyrinth, who watched the rosy light of dawn, the changes of the chilly moon, who marked the course of the winds, the return of flowery spring and fruitful autumn, and who knew the reason of all these things? Yet now here he lies, with his mind all bedimmed, with heavy chains upon his neck, casting downward his gloomy countenance, and forced to contemplate only the stolid earth beneath him.'

'The time is come,' she continues, 'for the healing art of the physician. Look fixedly at me, and tell me, dost thou know me?' A deadly lethargy oppresses Boethius, and he makes no reply. Then she wipes his streaming eyes: the touch of her hand revives him; he gazes earnestly into her face; he recognises his own and oldest friend, his Muse, his teacher, Philosophy. But why has she come to visit him in this his low estate? She assures him that she never leaves her votaries in their distress, and reminds him by the example of Socrates, Anaxagoras, Zeno, and many more, that to be misunderstood, to be hated, to be brought into prison, and even to death itself by the oppressor, is the customary portion of those who love her. She is come to heal him, but, that she may practise her skill, it is needful that he shall show her all his wound. Then Boethius, in a few pages of autobiography, gives that narrative of his fall from

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the sovereign's favour which has been already put before the reader. The remembrance of all his wrongs, the reflection that even the people condemn him and that his good name is trodden under foot of men, forces from him a cry of anguish, and in a song, well-nigh of rebellion against the Most High, he says, 'O God, wherefore dost thou, who rulest the spheres, let man alone of all thy creatures go upon his wicked way, heedless of thy control?'

Philosophy, with face sadder than before, hears this outburst. 'I knew,' she says, 'when I first saw thee that thou wast an exile from thy home, but how far thou hadst wandered from the City of Truth I knew not till now. Tell me, dost thou believe in an all-wise and all-good Governor of the world?' 'I do,' he answered, 'and will never cast away this faith.' 'But what is the manner of his governing?' Boethius shakes his head, and cannot understand the question. 'Poor clouded intellect!' says Philosophy to herself. 'Nevertheless his persuasion that there is a righteous Ruler is the one point of hope. From that little spark we will yet reanimate his vital heat. But the cure will need time.'

Book II, Fortune and her gifts.

'I see,' said Philosophy, 'that it is the sudden change of Fortune that has wrought this ruin in thy intellect. But it is of the very essence of Fortune to be ever changing. If she could speak for herself she would say, "All those things which you now mourn the loss of were my possessions, not yours. Far from groaning over their departure, you should be thankful to me for having let you enjoy them so long." Think what extraordinary good fortune you have had in life; friends to protect your boyhood, an honoured father-

in-law, a noble wife, a marriage-bed blessed with male offspring. Remember that proud day when you went from your home with a son, a consul, on either side of you, begirt by crowds of senators. Remember your oration in the Senate-house in praise of the King, and the glory won by your eloquence. Remember the shouting multitudes in the circus, who acclaimed your lavish gifts.' 'Ah, but that is the very pity of it,' says Boethius: 'the remembrance of these past delights is the sharpest sting of all my sorrows.' 'Courage!' replies his heavenly visitor: 'all is not yet lost. Symmachus, that wise and holy man, whose life you would gladly purchase with your own, still lives, and though he groans over your injuries has none to fear for himself. Rusticiana, whose character is the very image of her father's, lives, and her intense sympathy with your suffering is the only thing which I can consent to call a calamity for you. Your sons, the young Consulars, live too, and at every turn reflect the mind either of their father or their grandfather. After all, even in your present low estate there are many who would gladly change with you. Some secret grief or care preys on almost every heart, even of those who seem most prosperous.'

Then the gifts of Fortune are passed rapidly under review. Money, jewels, land, fine raiment, troops of servants, power, fame, are all subjected to that searching analysis, by which at any time for the last 2500 years philosophers have been able to prove their absolute worthlessness, that analysis in spite of which, after so many centuries, the multitude of men still persist in deeming them of value.

The cure now begins to work in the soul of

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Book III, The nature of the *Summum Bonum*

Boethius, and Philosophy feels that she may apply stronger remedies than the mere palliatives which she has used hitherto. She therefore leads him into a discussion of the *Summum Bonum*, the supreme good, which all men, more or less consciously, are searching after and longing to possess. There are many things apparently good, which cannot be this one highest good. Wealth cannot be the Summum Bonum, for it is not self-sufficing. Nor office, since it only brings out in stronger relief the wickedness of bad men; since it confers no honour among alien peoples, and the estimation in which it is held is constantly changing even in the same country [1]. Nor can friendship with kings and the great ones of the earth be the Summum Bonum, since those persons themselves lack it. Glory, popularity, noble birth, all are found wanting. The pleasures of the flesh, yea and even family joys, cannot be the Summum Bonum. At this point a certain religious awe comes over the interlocutors. Philosophy sings a hymn of invocation to the Supreme Being, and then leads Boethius up to the conclusion that the Summum Bonum, or Happiness in the highest sense, can be none other than God himself, and that men, in so far as they attain to any real participation therein, are themselves divine. In a somewhat Pantheistic strain, Philosophy argues that all things tend towards God,

[1] We have here an interesting notice as to the decay of the Praetorship and the Prefectura Annonae, once offices held in high esteem: 'Atqui praetura, magna olim potestas, nunc inane nomen est, *et senatorii census gravis sarcina.* Si quis quondam populi curasset annonam, magnus habetur: nunc ea praefectura quid abjectius?'

and that evil, which appears to resist him, is itself only an appearance.

Book IV, The Moral Government of the world.

'Still,' cries the prisoner in agony, 'my difficulty has not really vanished. I see that the bad do prosper here, and the good are often cruelly oppressed. How can I reconcile these facts with the faith, which I will not abandon, that the world has a Just and Almighty Ruler?' Philosophy, one must admit, answers but feebly this eternal question. She repeats the Stoical commonplaces, that the wise man (or the good man) alone is free, alone is strong; that the evil man, though he sit upon a tyrant's throne, is in truth a slave, that liberty to work wickedness is the direst of all punishments, and that if wicked men could only, as it were, through a little chink of light see the real nature of things, they would cry out for the sorest chastisement, for anything to cleanse them from their intolerable corruption. The thought of a world to come in which the wicked, triumphant in this world, shall receive the just reward of their deeds, is somewhat timorously put forward, and does not become, as in the Christian Theodicy, the central point of the reply to the impugner of God's ways[1].

Providence and Fate.

Philosophy is perhaps nearer to grasping the key of the position, when she enters into a long disquisition on the distinction between Providence and Fate[2].

[1] 'Et magna quidem, inquit, [sunt] supplicia post defunctum morte corpus: quorum alia poenali acerbitate, *alia vero purgatoria clementia* exerceri puto. Sed nunc de his disserere consilium non est' (iv. 4; p. 102, ed. Peiper). We have here at least one of the sources from which Mediaeval Theology derived the name and the doctrine of Purgatory.

[2] Borrowed from Proclus (see Maurice, Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, ii. 127, iii. 23, ed. 1854–1857).

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Providence is the supreme, all-ruling, all-directing Intelligence, whose ways will be manifestly justified in the end : Fate, the instrument in the hand of Providence, more closely resembles what we understand by the Laws of Nature. To Fate belongs that undeviating order, that rigid binding together of Cause and Effect, which produces what to men seems sometimes hardness or even injustice in the ways of their Creator. Philosophy argues, therefore, that every fortune is, in truth, good fortune, since it comes to us by the will of God. The wise man, when he finds that what men call evil fortune is coming upon him, should feel like the warrior who hears the trumpet sound for battle. Now is the day come for him to go forth, and prove, in conflict with adverse Fate, the strength of that armour with which years of philosophic training have endowed him.

Book V, Foreknowledge and Free-will.

Rested and strengthened, Boethius now invites his heavenly guest to cheer him with one of those discussions in which of old he delighted, and to explain to him how she reconciles the divine foreknowledge of all future events with the freedom of human actions. God's knowledge of the future cannot be a mere opinion or conjecture : it must be absolute, certain and scientific. Yet, if He thus foresees my actions for this day, they are fixed, and my power of changing them is only apparent. Thus Necessity is introduced, Free-Will goes, and with it Moral Responsibility. It is useless to utter prayer to God, since the order of all things is already fixed, and we cannot change it. The thought of Divine Grace, touching and moulding the hearts of men, and bringing them into communion with their Maker, goes likewise. All is rigid, me-

chanical, immutable[1]. Philosophy's answer to this question is long and subtil, but in the end brings us nearly to the same conclusion which is probably reached, more or less consciously, by the ordinary Theist of to-day. In all acts of perception, she says, the perceiver himself contributes something from the quality of his own mind: and thus perceptions differ according to the rank held by the perceiver in the intellectual universe. Animals see material things around them, but they do not see in them all that man sees. Where the horse sees only the quartern-measure in which his oats are brought to him, the trained intellect of man sees a circle, roughly representing the ideal circle of mathematics, and is conscious of all the properties inherent in that figure[2]. As our manner of seeing is superior to that of the brutes, so we must train ourselves to think of God's manner of seeing as superior to ours. He can see all future events, both necessary and contingent, and yet not, by seeing them, impart to all the same necessity. Before him, as the Eternal Being, Past, Present and Future lie all outstretched at the same moment[3]. He sees all events which have happened and which shall happen, as if now happening; and thus his foreseeing[4] no more necessitates the

[1] This passage on Divine Grace (v. 3, p. 129, ed. Peiper) is remarkable, both for its Christian sound, and also because in the Augustinian scheme Divine Grace is the agent which destroys, or seems to destroy, Free-will in Man.

[2] This precise illustration is not used by Boethius.

[3] The distinction here drawn out at considerable length between Eternity and mere indefinite prolongation of Time has an important bearing on some recent theological controversies (Phil. Cons. v. 6, pp. 139–141, ed. Peiper).

[4] 'Unde non *praevidentia* sed *providentia* potius dicitur, quod

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actions foreseen than my looking at a man ploughing on yonder hill compels him to plough, or prevents him from ceasing his occupation.

'And yet, in a certain sense, there is a necessity laid upon men, from the very thought that they are thus doing all in the sight and presence of God; a necessity to lead nobler lives, to avoid vice, to raise their hearts to the true and higher hope, to lift up their humble prayers on high.'

Abrupt end of the Consolation of Philosophy.

Here, abruptly, the Consolation of Philosophy ends. We must suppose that when Boethius has reached this point, the step of the brutal goaler is heard at his dungeon-door, the key turns in the lock, the executioner enters, and the Consolations of Philosophy end with the life of her illustrious disciple.

Style of the Consolation.

Such is an outline of the argument of the work upon which Boethius employed the enforced leisure of his prison hours. It will at once be seen that it deals with subjects which have ever been of primary interest to the human race. Sometimes the argument reminds us of the book of Job, sometimes of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, sometimes of Pope's 'Essay on Man.' The author's Latin prose is, upon the whole, pure, correct, and intelligible, a delightful contrast to the verbosity of Cassiodorus and the turgid ineptitudes of Ennodius. The snatches of song, in a vast variety of metres, with which the discourse is pleasantly enlivened, show an intimate acquaintance with the tragedies of Seneca, from whom sometimes a poetical phrase, sometimes the central idea of a whole canzonet, is borrowed. The extent of this indebtedness, however, has been some-

porro a rebus infimis constituta quasi ab excelso rerum cacum ne cuncta prospiciat.'

times overstated. The poems belong to Boethius himself, though he has written them with the echoes of Seneca's lyre vividly in his ear; and some of the most beautiful thoughts are entirely his own[1].

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Character of its philosophy.

In the argument of the book Boethius shows himself, as we should have expected, a persistent eclectic. Though Aristotle is his great master, he draws in this book largely from Plato; and often we come upon passages which remind us of the Stoic doctrines which were the favourite subject of ridicule to Horace.

Religious position of Boethius.

The religious position of the author has always been a subject of perplexity, and is not less so, now that we know that he is the same person who wrote tractates on subtle points of Christian controversy. He speaks throughout as a Theist, a Theist unshaken and unwavering, notwithstanding all the things that seem to make for Atheism in the world, but hardly as a Christian. There is no hint of opposition to any Christian doctrine; but on the other hand there is no sign of a willingness to accept the special Christian explanation of the central difficulty of the world. Instead of subtle arguments about the nature of the Summum Bonum, or a proof that bad men cannot be said truly to *be* at all and therefore it is idle to trouble ourselves about their prosperity, a Christian martyr would inevitably have turned to the remembrance of the Crucifixion, the mocking soldiery, the cursing Jews, and would have said, at the sorest of his

He speaks as a Theist, not as a Christian.

[1] In making this statement I assume that Peiper's apparently very careful 'Index Locorum quos Boetius ex Senecae Tragoediis transtulit' contains the whole sum of these borrowings. To state, as one writer does, that 'the verses are *almost entirely* borrowed from Seneca' is surely unfair to the later poet.

distress, '*He* has suffered more for me.' And the same thought would naturally have comforted any man, who, though not a martyr yet holding the same faith, was assailed by any of the lesser miseries of life, and troubled by seeing the apparent ascendency of evil. By him who accepts the fact which the Christian witnesses proclaim it may surely be said with boldness, 'The true Theodicy is the Theopathy.' The Son of God suffering for sin, admits the difficulty of the apparent triumph of evil, but suggests an explanation, which Faith leans upon, though Reason cannot put it into words.

Of all this we have in Boethius not a hint. Perhaps it was precisely because he was something of a scientific theologian, and knew the shoals and currents of that difficult sea in which it was so hard to avoid making shipwreck, one side or another, on the rocks of heresy, that he preferred to sail the wide ocean of abstract Theism. More likely, the feeling of a certain incompatibility between Christianity and polite literature, a feeling which not all the literary eminence of Jerome and Augustine had been able entirely to dispel, a feeling which threw so many of the later historians, Ammianus, Zosimus, Procopius, on the side of heathenism, prevented Boethius from more distinctly alluding than he has done to the Christian solution of his difficulties.

The undogmatic character of the Consolation perhaps contributed to its popularity.

Whatever the cause, the undogmatic character of the 'Consolation' had probably something to do with its marvellous success in the immediately following centuries. The Middle Ages were at hand, that era of wild and apparently aimless struggle between all that is noblest and all that is basest in our common

humanity. Many refined and beautiful natures were to go through that strife, to feel the misery of that chaos, in which they were involved. Some, far the larger part, clinging to the religious hope alone as their salvation from the storm, would retire from the evil world around them into the shelter of the convent. But there were some, few perhaps in number in each generation, but many in the course of the centuries, who would elect not to quit the world but to battle with it, not to fly the evil but to overcome it. To such souls the 'Consolation' of Boethius sounded like a trumpet-call to the conflict. It was not the less welcome, maybe, because it did not recall the familiar tones of monk and priest. The wisdom of all the dead pagan ages was in it, and nerved those strong, rather than devout, hearts to victory.

Vast influence of the Consolation on the intellect of the Middle Ages.

To trace with anything like completeness the influence of Boethius on the mind of the Middle Ages would require another chapter as long as the present. The mere list of editions and translations of his works, chiefly of his greatest work, in our national library, occupies fifty pages of the British Museum Catalogue.

King Alfred's translation.

Two names, however, of his English translators, a king and a poet, claim a notice here. King Alfred, probably in the years of peace which followed the Treaty of Wedmore, found or made leisure to interpret the 'Consolation' to his countrymen. 'Sometimes [1],' as he himself tells us, 'he set word by word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as he the most plainly and most clearly could explain it, for the various and manifold worldly occupations which often busied him both in

[1] I quote from the translation in the 'Jubilee' Edition of the works of King Alfred the Great.

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mind and in body. The occupations are very difficult to be numbered which in his days came upon the kingdom which he had undertaken; and yet when he had learned this book and turned it from Latin into the English language, he afterwards composed it in verse, as it is now done [1].' The King then explains to his subjects how 'the Goths made war against the Empire of the Romans, and with their kings, who were called Rhadgast and Alaric, sacked the Roman city and brought to subjection all the kingdom of Italy. Then, after the before-mentioned kings, Theodoric obtained possession of that same kingdom. He was of the race of the Amali, and was a Christian, but persisted in the Arian heresy. He promised to the Romans his friendship, so that they might enjoy their ancient rights. But he very ill performed that promise, and speedily ended with much wickedness; which was that in addition to other unnumbered crimes, he gave order to slay John the Pope. Then there was a certain consul, that we call *heretoga* [2], who was named Boethius. He was in book learning and in worldly affairs the most wise. Observing the manifold evil which the King Theodoric did against Christendom and against the Roman Senators, he called to mind the famous and the ancient rights which they had under the Caesars, their ancient lords. Then began he to enquire and study in himself how he might take the kingdom from the unrighteous King, and bring it under the power of the faithful and righteous men. He therefore privately sent letters

[1] King Alfred made both a prose translation and a metrical one.

[2] Duke (Herzog). Cf. Freeman's Norman Conquest, i. 591.

to the Caesar at Constantinople, which is the chief city of the Greeks and their king's dwelling-place, because the Caesar was of the kin of their ancient lords: they prayed him that he would succour them with respect to their Christianity and their ancient rights. When the cruel King Theodoric discovered this, he gave orders to take him to prison and therein lock him up.'

After this prelude the royal translator proceeds to describe the sorrow of Boethius and the manner in which it was soothed. It is perhaps a concession to the monastic depreciation of women that the heavenly comforter is introduced as a *man* who is called Wisdom (sometimes Wisdom and Reason), instead of the noble matron Philosophy.

Alfred's misunderstanding of Theodoric.

Few men would have had more sympathy with all that was great in Theodoric than Alfred his fellow-Teuton, had he known the true character of the Amal King, and the nature of the task that he had to grapple with. But three centuries of ecclesiastical tradition had produced so distorting an effect on the image reflected, that, as will be seen, the Theodoric whom Alfred beheld, resembled in scarcely a single feature the Theodoric known to his contemporaries. But notwithstanding this blemish, Alfred's translation of Boethius is a marvellous work. Few things seem to bring us so near to the very mind and soul of the founder of England's greatness as these pages, in which (not always understanding his author and sometimes endeavouring to improve upon him) the King follows the guidance of the philosopher through the mazes of the eternal controversy concerning Fate, Foreknowledge, and Free-will.

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Chaucer's translation (made before 1382).

Travelling over five centuries, we find the illustrious and venerable name of Geoffrey Chaucer among the translators of Boethius. In the note prefixed to the work he says, 'In this book are handled high and hard obscure points, viz. the purveyance of God, the force of Destiny, the Freedom of our Wills, and the infallible Prescience of the Almighty; also that the Contemplation of God himself is our Summum Bonum.' Chaucer's notion of the duty of a translator seems to be stricter than King Alfred's; but it may be doubtful whether he has not presented the book in a less attractive guise than the royal translator.

Decline in the fame of Boethius.

With the revival of learning in the fifteenth century it was inevitable that the surpassing lustre of the fame of Boethius should suffer some eclipse. When learned men were studying Aristotle and Plato for themselves, the translator and populariser of their philosophies became necessarily a person of diminished importance. Still, however, so fine a scholar as Sir Thomas More cherished the teachings of the Consolation of Philosophy, and was cheered by them in the dungeon to which he was consigned by a more tyrannical master than Theodoric [1].

[1] In Holbein's picture, Sir Thomas More's daughter Margaret is painted with the Consolation of Philosophy in her hand. More himself, when in prison, wrote 'A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation,' evidently in imitation of the famous 'Consolation,' but not proceeding on the same lines. Inasmuch as 'the comforts devised by the old Paynim philosophers were insufficient,' More shows how all needful comfort may be derived from the Christian faith. The book, which is really designed to strengthen the English Catholics under the persecution of Henry VIII, professes to be a dialogue between two Hungarians, an uncle and a nephew, as to the best means of strengthening themselves to endure the persecutions of the Turks.

In the following century a Jesuit priest[1], by an imaginary life of Boethius, somewhat revived his fame, and as a statesman who resisted a heretical sovereign to the death, he was held up as a model for the imitation of English and German Catholics. BOOK IV. CH. 12.

In later days the writings of Boethius have ceased to live, except for a few curious students. Yet, whoso would understand the thoughts that were working in the noblest minds of mediaeval Europe would do well to give a few hours of study to the once world-renowned 'Consolation of Philosophy.'

[1] See Note H.

NOTE H. Seventeenth-Century Literature about Boethius.

NOTE H. In Nicholas Caussin's 'Holy Court' (Eng. tr., Lond. 1678) there is a long life of Boethius under the title of 'The Statesman;' the object of the book being to show that even the most conspicuous and brilliant positions in a Court may be held and adorned by Christians[1].

There is not wanting a certain French elegance and charm of style in the book, but the writer, whose information is probably in the main derived from Baronius, draws extravagantly on his imagination. He represents Boethius as chief counsellor of the state of Theodoric, and ventures to set forth in detail the ten great maxims of state which he supplied to his master. He says that Boethius was made Master of the Offices and afterwards 'Superintendent of Offices and Dignities.'

The few hints given in the *Philosophiae Consolatio* as to the enemies and accusers of Boethius are expanded into a circumstantial history in which 'Trigilla, Congiastus, and Cyprianus, the principal of the faction of the Goths,' of course play the chief part. In another place we are told that 'that goodly letter addressed to the Emperor of the East was wholly counterfeited by the damnable imposture of one named Cyprian.'

A long speech is put into the mouth of Boethius, who is supposed to have uttered it to Theodoric 'in full Senate.' We have also Theodoric's imaginary reply, which is not quite so lengthy. Both speeches have some cleverness, but an unmistakeable flavour of the seventeenth century, not of the sixth, pervades them. Afterwards we have a speech in which Rusticiana, having implored the mediation of Amalasuntha, makes her petition to the King for her husband's life.

[1] Nicholas Caussin was a Jesuit, and for a short time confessor to Louis XIII, till dismissed by Richelieu.

The author does not believe in the story of the cord twisted round the forehead of Boethius till his eyes started out of his head. The chief reason for his disbelief is that 'Martianus, who most eloquently wrote his life, addeth that by miracle he some space of time held up his head in his own hands, like another S. Denis, until he gave up the ghost before the altar of a chapel very near to the place of his execution.'

The whole performance is only the romance of a rather clever Jesuit, who had the necessary volume of Baronius at hand. It seems, however, to have produced some impression on the minds of contemporaries.

There was published (in 1681) 'A Voice from the Dead, or the Speech of an Old Noble Peer, being the excellent oration of the learned and famous Boetius to the Emperour Theodoricus,' which is simply an extract from the 'Holy Court:' also, 'The Life of Boetius recommended to the Author of the Life of Julian' (London, 1683), in which, though the 'Holy Court' is (I think) not mentioned, the facts are evidently all drawn from that book, and applied, controversially, to the defence of the Roman Catholics from their accusers at the time of the Popish Plot. (This is no doubt also the unavowed object of the other pamphlet with its republication of the speech.) The author calls attention to the names of the chief accusers, *O*pilio and *B*asilius, and says that 'the learned Caballists of our age, prying into the Arcana of the Alphabet, often discover strange misteries, even out of the first Letters of an Appellation,'—an evident allusion to Oates and Bedloe. In this singular fashion of twisting history into a party pamphlet, Theodoric the Arian becomes a Protestant, and Odovacar's followers 'the pardoned and lately indemnified Heruli,' are the remains of the Roundhead party, the 'Inveterate Whigs of that Age, who forsooth in outward profession were of the Gothic religion, and could not but dote on the royal person of Theodoric with a moderate true Protestant zeal and passion.' Cyprian, the clever Referendarius, the learned and trusted Master of the Offices, becomes 'a fellow as villainous in his Pen as Tongue, but whether of the clergy or laity History is silent;' evidently a thrust at the clerical character of the pamphleteer's antagonist, Samuel Johnson, the author of 'Julian the Apostate[1].'

[1] See Macaulay's 'History of England,' i. 602 (ed. 1866).

NOTE H. From the 'Holy Court' (p. 823 of the English edition) I gather the curious fact that Queen Elizabeth 'gave herself to such a vanity of study, that oftentimes she committed some extravagances, as when she undertook to translate the five books of the Consolation of Boetius, to comfort herself on the conversion of Henry the Fourth.'

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ACCESSION OF ATHALARIC.

Authorities.

Sources:—

THE Variae of CASSIODORUS, the De Bello Gothico of PROCOPIUS, and the ANONYMUS VALESII. For Vandal history the Chronicle of VICTOR TUNNUNENSIS: for Burgundian that of MARIUS of Aventicum and the History of GREGORY OF TOURS.

Remorse of Theodoric for the death of Symmachus.

526.

THE sun of Theodoric, which for thirty years had shone in mild splendour over the Italian land, set in lurid storm-clouds. Boethius slain, Symmachus slain, Pope John dead in prison, these were the events which every tongue at Rome and Ravenna was discussing with fear, with anger, or with lawless hope; and assuredly the dying King, though he might say few words concerning them, thought of little else: and all his thoughts about them were bitter. According to a story which was told to Procopius (perhaps by one of the lacqueys of the Court whom he may have met at Ravenna), one day at the banquet a large fish's head was set before Theodoric. To the King's excited fancy, the object in the dish assumed the semblance of the pallid face and hoary head of Symmachus, newly slain. Then, as he thought, the teeth began to gnaw the lower lip, the eyes rolled askance and shot glances of fury and menace at his murderer.

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Theodoric, who, if there be any truth in the story at all, was evidently already delirious, was seized with a violent shivering-fit, and hurried to his bed, where the chamberlains could hardly heap clothes enough upon him to restore his warmth. At length he slept, and when he woke he told the whole circumstance to Elpidius his physician, bewailing with many tears his unrighteous deed to Symmachus and Boethius.

His death, 30 Aug. 526.

In this agony of mind, says Procopius, 'he died not long after, this being the first and last act of injustice which he had committed against any of his subjects: and the cause of it was that he had not sufficiently examined into the proofs, before he pronounced judgment upon these men[1].'

Ecclesiastical tradition as to his death.

The ecclesiastical tradition as to the death of Theodoric, preserved for us by the Anonymus Valesii, makes the cause of it dysentery; a form of disease which, ever since the opportune death of the arch-
336. heretic Arius, seemed peculiarly appropriate for heterodox disturbers of the Church. For the secular historian it is enough to remember that Theodoric was now seventy-two years of age and broken-hearted. They may leave him alone, the orthodox Romans, the righteously indignant friends of Senator and Pope. For that noble heart, Hell itself could scarcely reserve any sorer punishment than the consciousness of a life's labour wasted by one fierce outbreak of Berserker revenge.

The body of the dead King was laid in the mighty

[1] Procopius' testimony to the general character of Theodoric's reign is valuable; but he crowds the events of two years (death of Boethius, 524; death of Theodoric, 526) into a few days; and he seems to be ignorant that it was the Senate which formally condemned Boethius.

mausoleum which he had built for himself outside the north-eastern corner of Ravenna. There the structure still stands[1], massive if not magnificent, no longer now the Tomb of Theodoric, but the deserted Church of S. Maria della Rotonda[2]. It is built of white marble, and consists of two stories, the lower ten-sided, the upper circular. The whole is crowned with an enormous monolith weighing two hundred tons and brought from the quarries of Istria. It is hard even for the scientific imagination to conjecture the means by which, in the infancy of the engineering art, so huge a mass of stone can have been raised to its place[3]. In the centre of the upper story of the building stood, in all probability, the porphyry vase which held the body of the great Gothic King. The name Gothic must not lead the visitor to expect to see anything of what is technically called Gothic architecture in the building. The whole structure is Roman in spirit; square pilasters, round massive arches, a cupola, somewhat like that of Agrippa's Pantheon. The edifice, however, of which upon the whole it most reminds us is the great Mausoleum of Hadrian, such as it must have appeared in the centuries when it was still an imperial tomb and

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Mausoleum of Theodoric.

[1] See frontispiece.

[2] The visitor to Ravénna will do well to enquire for La Rotonda, the best-known name of the building.

[3] There are twelve projections from the surface of the cupola. Reasoning by analogy from the Mausoleum of Hadrian, one would suppose that these once served as bases for statues, perhaps the statues of the Twelve Apostles. But Vandelli (quoted by C. Ricci in his Guide to Ravenna, p. 228) thinks that these projections served as handles through which ropes might be slung round the cupola, to haul it up an inclined plane, and to raise it or lower it to its place.

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before it became a Papal fortress[1]. And probably this was the example which hovered before the mind of Theodoric, whose work was not undertaken in a spirit of mere vainglory. Believing that he was founding a dynasty which would rule Italy for centuries, he would construct, as Hadrian had constructed, a massive edifice in which might be laid the bones of many generations of his successors.

Theodoric's body not in it.

As it turned out, the great Mausoleum became a Cenotaph. Theodoric indeed was once buried there, but when Agnellus, three hundred years after his death, wrote the story of the Bishops of Ravenna, it was matter of public notoriety that the tomb had long been empty; and the belief of the chronicler himself was that the royal remains had been cast forth contemptuously out of the Mausoleum, and the porphyry urn in which they were enclosed, a vessel of wonderful workmanship, placed at the door of the neighbouring monastery[2].

Reason for the disappearance.

Why should there have been this mystery about the disposal of the body of the great Ostrogoth? Thereto is attached a little history, which, if the

[1] The Castle of S. Angelo.

[2] These are the words of Agnellus, who, as the reader will remember, is 'supra grammaticam:' 'Theodoricus autem post 34 anno regni sui coepit claudere ecclesias Dei et coartare christianos, et subito ventri fluxus incurrens mortuus est sepultusque est in mausoleum, quod ipse haedificare jussit extra portas Artemetoris, quod usque hodie vocamus Ad Farum, ubi est monasterium sanctae Mariae quod dicitur ad memoria regis Theodorici. *Sed, ut mihi videtur, ex sepulcro projectus est,* et ipsa urna, ubi jacuit, ex lapide pirfiretico valde mirabilis ante ipsius monasterii aditum posita est. Satis vagatus sum, ivi per diversa, ad nostra revertamur' (p. 304, ed. Holder Egger in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica).

reader has patience to listen to it, links together in curious fashion the name of the Pope who sent St. Augustine to convert the Saxons, and that of the Pope who in our own day wielded and lost the power of a king both at Rome and at Ravenna.

Gregory's Dialogues. 593–594.

To begin with Pope Gregory the Great. In his Dialogues, written sixty-eight years after the death of Theodoric, he informs us[1] that 'a certain Defensor of the Roman Church named Julian married a wife whose grandfather was employed under King Theodoric in the collection of the land-tax in Sicily. This tax-collector was once returning to Italy and touched at the island of Lipari, where dwelt a holy hermit to whose prayers he wished to commend himself. The hermit said, "Know ye, that King Theodoric is dead." "God forbid," replied the tax-gatherer and his friends. "We left him in good health and have heard no such tidings." "For all that," said the hermit, "he is dead: for yesterday, at three in the afternoon, I saw him between John the Pope and Symmachus the Patrician. All ungirded and unshod and with bound hands he was dragged between them and cast into yon cauldron of Vulcan" [the crater of Lipari]. When they heard it, they carefully noted the day and the hour: and found, on their return to Ravenna, that at that very time Theodoric breathed his last.'

Story about Theodoric's punishment after death.

Excavations near Ravenna in 1854.

So wrote Pope Gregory. We overleap 1260 years and find ourselves in 1854 in 'the Legation of Ravenna,' which province is sullen and discontented at being replaced under the Papal sway by the arms of Austria after the revolutions of 1848–49. Works

[1] iv. 30.

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of industry, however, are progressing, and at Ravenna a party of 'navvies' are employed excavating a dock between the railway station and the Canale Corsini, one or two hundred yards from the Mausoleum of Theodoric. There are indications that they are on the site of an old cemetery; and the Papal Governor, together with the Municipality, appoints a Commission to watch over the excavation in the interests of archaeology; but the Commission, like some other parts of the ecclesiastical government of the Legations, is not likely to be worn out by excess of energy.

Discovery of a skeleton in golden armour.

One day rumours are heard of some important discovery made by the workmen and not reported to the Commission. Enquiries are commenced: two workmen are arrested: by coaxing and threatening, the whole grievous history is elicited from them. A few days previously the navvies had come suddenly upon a skeleton, not in but near one of the tombs. The skeleton was armed with a golden cuirass: a sword was by its side and a golden helmet on its head. In the hilt of the sword and in the helmet large jewels were blazing. The men at once covered up the treasure, and returned at nightfall to dig it up again and to divide the spoil. At the time when the slow-moving Commission set its enquiries on foot the greater part of the booty had already found its way to the melting-pot of the goldsmith or had been sent away out of the country. By keeping the prisoners in custody, their share of the spoil, a few pieces of the cuirass, was recovered from their relatives in the mountains. These pieces, all that remains of the whole magnificent 'find,' are now in the Museum at Ravenna. Great precautions were taken after-

wards by the Commission: a trusted representative was always present at the excavations by day; the city police tramped past the diggings at night. But the lost opportunity came not back again: no such second prize revealed itself either to the labourers or the members of the Commission.

The golden armour has been assigned to Odovacar,

Now, to whom did all this splendid armour belong in life? and whose heart was once beating within that skeleton? Of course the answer must be conjectural. It was given by the archaeologists of the day in favour of Odovacar; and the bits of the golden cuirass in the Museum at Ravenna are accordingly assigned to him in the Catalogue. But Dr. Ricci, an earnest and learned archaeologist of Ravenna, argues[1] with much force that the scene of Odovacar's assassination took place too far from the Rotonda to render this probable, and that there has never been a dweller in Ravenna to whom the skeleton and the armour can with more likelihood be assigned than Theodoric himself[2].

but more likely belonged to Theodoric.

We may imagine the course of events to be something like this. During the reign of his grandson the body of the great King in its costly armour remains in the royal Mausoleum, guarded perhaps by some of his old comrades-in-arms, or by their sons. Troubles begin to darken round the nation of Theodoric; the

[1] See Una Corazza d' Oro, in Note storiche e letterarie di Corrado Ricci: Bologna, 1881.

[2] Dr. Ricci lays stress on the character of the armour [the adornments of which are similar to those of the 'Treasure of Guarrazar' engraved in Peigné Delacourt's 'Recherches sur le lieu de la Bataille d'Attila], and especially on the similarity of the *meandro*, the wavy ornament round the border, to a decoration of the cornice of the Tomb of Theodoric.

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Roman population of Ravenna stir uneasily against their Arian lords; monks and hermits begin to manufacture or to imagine such stories as that told to Gregory concerning the soul of the oppressor being cast into the crater of Lipari. The inmates of the monastery of S. Mary, close to the Rotonda, hear and would fain help this growth of legend, so fatal to the memory of the Ostrogothic King. Suddenly the body with its golden cuirass and golden helmet disappears mysteriously from the Mausoleum. No one can explain its vanishing; but the judgment of charity will naturally be that the same divine vengeance which threw the soul of the King down the volcano of Lipari has permitted the powers of darkness to remove his mortal remains. The monks of Santa Maria, if they know anything about the matter, keep their secret; but some dim tradition of the truth causes the cautious Agnellus, writing three centuries after the event, to say, 'as it seems to me he was cast forth from the tomb.' So the matter rests till, thirteen centuries after the deed was done, the pick-axe of a dishonest Italian 'navvy' reveals the bones of Theodoric.

Bitterness of the Catholic Church towards the memory of Theodoric.

All this is of course mere conjecture, and is not put before the reader as anything but a somewhat romantic possibility. The bitterness, the undeserved bitterness with which the Catholic Church has taught the Italians to regard the memory of Theodoric, is but too certain a fact, and some curious traces of it remain even to this day. On the western front of the beautiful church of S. Zenone at Verona is a bas-relief[1] representing a king hunting stags, and being himself on the point of capture by a demon with horns

[1] Apparently of the twelfth century, perhaps earlier.

and hoofs, who, with a cruel grin on his face, stands waiting for his prey. Some lines underneath[1] showed that this kingly victim of the evil one was meant for Theodoric. For generations the urchins of Verona have been accustomed to rub the two figures of king and demon, imagining that there is thus obtained a sulphurous smell, which bears witness to their present abode.

Athalaric designated as heir to the throne. 526.

From these idle tales of religious rancour we turn to consider the fortunes of the kingdom when bereft of its mighty founder. Shortly before his death Theodoric presented his grandson Athalaric, son of Eutharic and Amalasuntha, to the leaders of the Gothic people, and declared that he was their future king. The declaration was made specially to the Gothic nobles; but in the speech which the old King made on that occasion, and which was listened to as if it were his last will and testament, there was an earnest exhortation to the Goths to show not only loyalty to the new sovereign, but kindly feelings towards the Senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate friendly relations with the Eastern Emperor[2].

The choice of the nation was really limited to him.

The presentation to the Gothic warriors was a sort of recognition of their slumbering right to choose the successor to the throne. But in fact, limited as that choice was to the family of the King, there could be no doubt how it would be exercised on this occasion.

[1] Now I think obliterated.

[2] So says Jordanes, whom we have no especial reason for distrusting: 'Convocans Gothos comites gentisque suae primates Athalaricum. . . . regem constituit, eisque in mandatis ac si testamentali voce denuntians ut regem colerent Senatum populumque Romanum amarent, principemque orientalem placatum semperque propitium haberent post deum' (cap. lix).

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It is true that Athalaric was barely ten years old[1], and his nominal kingship necessarily implied a woman's regency. But Amalaric, the only other grandson of Theodoric, though he had now probably attained his majority, must needs dwell in Spain or Narbonnensian Gaul as ruler of his father's Visigoths. The only other male of the Amal line, the late king's nephew Theodahad, was too profoundly hated and despised for any one to press his claims, even against the child-king his cousin.

Regency of Amalasuntha.

Athalaric then succeeded to his grandfather's throne; and the succession of Athalaric meant, as has been said, the rule of Amalasuntha. She was a woman in whom a strength of character almost masculine[2] was joined to rich gifts of the intellect and a remarkable power of appreciating Roman culture. Her earnest desire was to rule the young kingdom righteously; and had she only been able to carry her Gothic countrymen with her, she might have made for herself one of the noblest names in history. As it was, the deep-seated discordance between her thoughts and theirs revealed itself at length in acts of tyranny on her side and of rebellion on theirs, which caused the ruin of the Gothic monarchy. But of these open dissensions between the Regent and her subjects the time is not yet come to speak.

Influence of Cassiodorus.

As the sympathies of Amalasuntha were all on the side of Roman literature and civilisation, it is reason-

[1] 'Infantulum adhuc vix decennem,' says Jordanes. Procopius makes him eight years old at his accession.

[2] *Ξυνέσεως μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθοῦσα, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ἐς ἄγαν τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἐνδεικνυμένη* is Procopius' character of her (De Bell. Goth. i. 2).

able to suppose that Cassiodorus, the most distinguished representative of that rich inheritance, would have great influence in her government. It is possible that he may have directed her studies while she was still but a princess; it is certain that he was the chief minister of her policy when she was a sovereign. There was no necessary breach of continuity between the policy of the father and that of the daughter. Cassiodorus was the trusted minister of both. But we can perceive, from the tone of his correspondence, that the anti-Roman turn which had been given to the policy of Theodoric during his last three years of suspicion and resentment, was reversed, and that something of a new impulse away from barbarian freedom and towards Roman absolutism was given to the vessel of the State.

526.

Offices held by Cassiodorus.

Cassiodorus at the time of the death of Theodoric held the rank of Master of the Offices. How long he may have retained it we do not know, but it is pretty clear from his own statement that his power and influence at the Court were not strictly limited by the terms of his official commission. Other Quaestors were appointed; Cassiodorus drew up the letters assigning to them their duties: but he was himself the one permanent and irremovable Quaestor, equipped with an inexhaustible supply of sonorous phrases and philosophical platitudes, 'ready,' as was said of the younger Pitt, 'to speak a State-paper off-hand.' After having for eight years, in one capacity or another, guided the counsels of Amalasuntha, he was promoted to the great place of Praetorian Prefect[1], and thus assumed the semblance as well as the form of power. That

1 Sept. 534.

[1] Cass. Var. ix. 24, 25.

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dignity he appears to have held for four or five stormy years, until his final retirement from public life.

526. Fears as to the loyalty of the Goths.

From the official correspondence of Cassiodorus[1] we infer that some anxiety was felt by the loyal subjects of the Amal dynasty as to the acceptance by the Goths of so young a sovereign as Athalaric. The emphasis with which the minister dwells on the alacrity of the Goths in taking the oath of allegiance implies that Amalasuntha and her friends breathed more freely when that ceremony was accomplished.

Tulum.

And the honours and compliments showered on the veteran Tulum, who was introduced to the Senate with the splendid rank of a Patrician, suggest the idea that he was looked upon by some of his old companions in battle as a more fitting occupant of the throne than a lad of ten years old. A mysterious allusion made by the courtly scribe[2] to the warrior Gensemund of a bygone age, 'a man whose praises the whole world sang,' and who apparently might have been king, but preferred to guide the suffrages of his countrymen to the heir of the Amal house, makes this conjecture almost a certainty.

Troubles with the Vandals.

One of the first difficulties as to which the advice of Cassiodorus was needed by Amalasuntha arose out of the news which reached her from Africa. A slight allusion was made in the last chapter to the troubles which had fallen on Amalafrida, sister of Theodoric. Her husband Thrasamund, one of the best of the Vandal kings, died in 523, and was succeeded by his cousin the elderly Hilderic.

Accession of Hilderic.

This man, though a son of Huneric, the most rancorous of all the persecutors

[1] See the first eleven letters of the eighth book.

[2] Cass. Var. viii. 9.

of the Catholic Church, shared not his father's animosity against the orthodox. It was generally believed that his mother Eudoxia had influenced him in favour of her form of faith; and Thrasamund on his death-bed had exacted from him an oath that he would never use his kingly power for the restoration of their churches to the Catholics. The oath was given; but Hilderic, who could say with Euripides' hero

'My lips have sworn, my mind unsworn remains,'

devised a clever scheme for escaping from its obligation. The promise had been that he would not use *his kingly power* for the forbidden purposes. Therefore after Thrasamund's death, but before Hilderic had put on the Vandal crown or been proclaimed king in the streets of Carthage, he issued his orders for the return of all the Catholic bishops from exile; he opened the churches, which for more than two generations had never echoed to the words 'being of one substance with the Father;' and he made Boniface, a strenuous asserter of orthodoxy, bishop of the city of Carthage [1].

Hilderic favours the Catholics.

Hilderic's entire reversal of the policy of his predecessor brought him speedily into collision with that predecessor's widow. The stately and somewhat imperious Amalafrida, who had been probably for twenty years Queen of the Vandals, was not going tamely to submit to see all her husband's friends driven away and his whole system of government subverted. She headed a party of revolt; she called in the assistance of the Moors, ever restless and ever willing to make war upon the actual ruler of Carthage; and battle was joined at Capsa, about three hundred miles to the

Opposition of the Queen Dowager, Amalafrida.

[1] Victor Tunnunensis, s. a. 523.

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526. Defeat of her party. Her captivity and death, 526 or 527.

south of the capital, on the edge of the Libyan desert. Amalafrida's party were beaten, and she herself was taken captive. So long as her brother Theodoric lived she was kept a close prisoner. Now that the great head of the Amal line was laid low, the Vandal king had the meanness and the cruelty to put his venerable prisoner to death.

Angry messages between Ravenna and Carthage.

The insult was keenly felt at the Court of Ravenna, and produced a fatal alienation between the two kingdoms. A letter of angry complaint was written by Cassiodorus[1], and ambassadors were sent to demand an explanation. No satisfactory explanation could be given; for the story which Hilderic endeavoured to circulate, that Amalafrida's death was natural, seems to have borne falsehood upon its face. What followed we are not able to say. Probably there was a threat of war, replied to by menaces of reprisal from the still powerful Vandal fleet against the Italian coast. At least we know of no other opportunity to which we can so suitably refer Cassiodorus' own account of his services to the kingdom at a time when it was threatened by foreign invasion[2]. 'When the care of our shores,' he makes his young sovereign say, 'occupied our royal meditations, he [Cassiodorus] suddenly emerged from the seclusion of his cabinet, and boldly, like his ancestors, assumed the character of a general. He maintained the Gothic warriors at his own charges, preventing the impoverishment of our exchequer on the one hand, and the oppression of the Provincials on the other. When the work of victualling the ships was over, and the war was laid aside, he again distinguished himself as an administrator by his peaceful settlement

Threats of war.

Services of Cassiodorus.

[1] Var. ix. 1.

[2] Var. ix. 25.

of the various suits which had grown out of the sudden termination of the contracts 'for the commissariat.'

526. Hostilities collapse.

We seem to read in this passage of a threatened Vandal invasion of Bruttii and Lucania, of Cassiodorus' preparations for defending his native province, and of the sudden collapse of hostilities about which neither nation was really in earnest. It was not from the Ostrogothic nation that the impending ruin of the dynasty of Gaiseric was to proceed [1].

Fall of the Burgundian monarchy.

Five years after these events another of the Arian and Teutonic monarchies of Europe received its death-blow. The reader may remember that, after the defeat and captivity of Sigismund, his brother Godomar raised from the dust the torn banner of the Burgundians, and maintained the independence of his native land against the Frankish invaders. Now 532-534. Godomar's turn also was come. Chlotochar and Childebert again entered the land. They besieged Autun. Godomar, after one or perhaps two campaigns, took to flight. Theodoric, the remaining brother of the Frankish partnership, was persuaded to forget his relationship to the family of Sigismund when the invasion seemed likely to prove successful, but died before the conquest was completed. In the

[1] In the early years of the new reign some operations were undertaken against the Gepidae which were viewed with great dissatisfaction by the Emperor, but did not at the time lead to any actual rupture between the two states. This information we get from Cassiodorus (Variae, xi. 1), and it is confirmed by Justinian's complaint (hereafter to be noticed) as to the sack of Gratiana. From the same letter we infer that war was all but actually declared between the Goths and the Franks in the year 526, but that, owing to the death of Theodoric, the two nations resolved to remain at peace.

BOOK IV. CH. 13. 534. year 534 the kingdom of Burgundy, which had lasted for all but a hundred years since its settlement in Savoy (443), was finally swallowed up in the vast nebulous mass of the Frankish monarchy, Theudebert, son of Theodoric, dividing the spoils with his uncles, Chlotochar and Childebert[1].

Death of John I, 18 May, 526. Felix III, 12 July, 526, to 22 Sept. 530. Boniface II, 22 Sept. 530, to 17 Oct. 532. John II, 2 Jan. 533, to 8 May, 535[2].

This is all that needs to be said about the affairs of Western Europe during the reign of Athalaric. With the Papacy the relations of the Gothic monarchy seem to have been outwardly amicable. The 'martyred' John was succeeded by Felix III; he by Boniface II, a man of Gothic extraction; and he by another John, the second of the name. There is nothing in the short reigns of these pontiffs, at peace with Constantinople and outwardly at peace with Ravenna, which need occupy our attention.

Only, the election of the first of the series, Felix III, should be noticed, since it seems to have been ordered by the dying Theodoric and confirmed by his grandson. This we learn from a letter[3] addressed by Cassiodorus to the Roman Senate. There had evidently been at least the threat of a contested election, but the minister, speaking in the name of Athalaric, exhorts all parties to forget the bitterness of the past debate. He thinks that the beaten party may yield without humiliation, since it is the King's power which has helped the winning side. The latter

[1] The materials for the history of the Frankish conquest of Burgundy are scanty and contradictory. The account given above is substantially that of Jahn (Geschichte der Burgundionen, ii. 68–78), and not very different from that of Binding (270–271).

[2] The dates of accession and death of each pontiff are taken from Duchesne.

[3] Var. viii. 15.

suggests the idea of a contest, the decision of which has been voluntarily referred to Theodoric, and the whole tone of it is extremely difficult to reconcile with any story of the death of Pope John I which represents him as a martyr, wilfully allowed by a persecuting king to perish in a dungeon. Had this been the version of the story generally accepted at Rome, it is hard to believe that in a very few months the relations between King and Pope would have been so friendly as we find them in this letter[1].

From this short sketch it will be seen that few events of great importance occurred in Italy during the eight years of the reign of Athalaric. Constan- 526-534. tinople, not Ravenna, was now once more the place to which the chief action of the great drama was transferred, and already all Roman souls were aflame with the reports of the splendour, the reforms, and the victories of Justinian.

[1] I cannot find in this nomination by Theodoric anything so extraordinary as Baronius (vii. 116), and, following him, Bower (ii. 320) and Milman (i. 326) have done. All these writers look upon the nomination as an important enlargement of the royal prerogative in connexion with the choice of the Pope, and one which was meant to form a lasting precedent: and from their various points of view they praise it or blame it accordingly. To me it looks like the reference of *one* disputed election to the king, and therefore nothing more than was undoubtedly done at the time of the contest between Symmachus and Laurentius.

CHAPTER XIV.

JUSTINIAN.

Authorities.

Sources:-

BOOK IV. CH. 14.

PROCOPIUS: JOANNES LYDUS, a civil-service clerk of Constantinople from 511 to 552, whose treatise De Magistratibus gives us valuable information as to the internal affairs of the Empire: the CHRONICON PASCHALE (or ALEXANDRINUM), the last entry in which belongs to the year 628, in the reign of Heraclius: JOANNES MALALAS, a writer possibly earlier than the last mentioned, but whose date, not yet accurately determined, may be placed anywhere between 600 and 800: THEOPHANES (758–816).

It will be seen from this list that, though we begin with contemporaries, we come down to historians separated by a considerable interval from the accession of Justinian. Any one, however, who examines minutely the account given by all the above authorities of such an event as the Nika-riot at Constantinople will see that their stories, though full of animation and variety, are in no important respect discordant; and will feel that probably the very latest of them had access to some valuable contemporary memoirs which have since perished.

In quoting PROCOPIUS, I refer not only to his standard work, De Bellis, but also to the Anecdota or Historia Arcana. The fact that this is really the work of Procopius is, I think, now carried to a high degree of probability, especially by Dahn in his 'Prokopius von Cäsarea.' But the book is pervaded by passionate, almost insane hatred of Justinian, Theodora, and their favourites; and we ought perhaps hardly to consider any fact as proved which depends on the Anecdota alone. The proper course seems to be to consult it, as we might consult the Letters of Junius for information as to the reign of George III,

but to accept its statements with all possible caution and to abandon them at once whenever they are found to clash with any dispassionate historical authority.

There is one frequently quoted authority which I have thought it best not to cite. This is the so-called 'Life of Justinian by Theophilus,' of which Alemannus has made considerable use in his notes to the Anecdota of Procopius. On this authority rest the usual statements as to the barbarian names of Justinian and his parents (Uprauda, Istok, Biglenitza), the story of his hostage-ship at the Court of Theodoric, and some other particulars of his life. The brilliant discovery of this 'Life by Theophilus,' which was made by Mr. Bryce in the library of the Barberini Palace at Rome, clears up what has long been a mystery as to the source from whence Alemannus drew his information. It does not, however, enhance the value of the document itself, which seems to be a somewhat late mediaeval romance compiled from Slavonic sources. While awaiting Mr. Bryce's publication of the document and critical estimate of its value, I prefer in the mean time to draw my information from sources of more undoubted authority.

Guides:—

I cannot touch even the outskirts of the forest of literature that has grown up around the name of Justinian. My guides have been Gibbon, never more worthy of his fame than in the five chapters which he devotes to the reign of the great legislator; the two articles by Mr. Bryce in the Encyclopaedia Britannica and the Dictionary of Christian Biography. Roby's 'Introduction to the study of Justinian's Digest' and Moyle's Edition of the Institutes are strongly recommended to the student.

Omen as to the successor of Anastasius.

SOME time after his accession to the Empire, the elderly Anastasius was troubled with a restless curiosity to know who should be his successor. He had three nephews, Hypatius son of one of his sisters, and the brothers Probus and Pompeius, who were possibly children of his brother. Inviting them one day to dine with him at the palace, he caused three couches

BOOK IV. CH. 14. to be spread upon which his nephews might take their siesta. Under the pillow of one of the couches he had secretly slipped a paper with the word REGNVM written upon it. 'Whichsoever of my nephews,' thought he, 'chooses that couch, he shall reign after me.' Unfortunately when the time for the noontide slumber came, Hypatius chose one couch, the two brothers in their love for one another chose to occupy the second together, and the pillow that had 'regnum' beneath it was left undimpled. Then Anastasius knew that none of his nephews should wear the diadem after him[1].

Early life of Justin.

It was not one of the three delicately nurtured princes, but a man who had begun life in very different fashion, who was to be clothed with the out-worn purple of Anastasius. In the reign of Leo, three young peasants from the central highlands of Macedonia, tired of the constant struggle for existence in their poverty-stricken homes, strode down the valley of the Axius (*Vardar*) to Thessalonica, determined to better their lot by taking service in the army. They had each a sheep-skin wallet over his shoulder, in which was stored a sufficient supply of home-baked biscuit to last them till they reached the capital: no other possessions had they in the world. Being tall and handsome young men, Zimarchus, Ditybistus, and Justin—so the peasant-lads were named—had no difficulty in entering the army: nay, they soon found places in the ranks of the guards of the palace, an almost certain avenue to yet higher promotion. Once indeed Justin had a narrow escape from death. For some offence—probably against military discipline—

[1] This curious story is told us by the Anonymus Valesii.

which he had committed, he was ordered into arrest and condemned to death by his captain John the Hunchback[1], under whose orders he had been sent upon the Isaurian campaign. But a figure of majestic size appeared to the Hunchback in his dreams and threatened him with sore punishment if he did not release the prisoner, who was fated to do good service to the Church in days to come. After this vision had been seen for three successive nights, the general thought it must be from above and dismissed Justin unharmed[2].

Destined successor of Anastasius.

Now, in the aged Emperor's perplexity, when with fasting and prayer he had besought from Heaven an indication as to who should be his successor, it was revealed to him that the destined one was he who should be first announced to him in the sacred bed-chamber on the morrow morning. The first person to arrive was Justin, who had now attained the high rank of Count of the Guardsmen[3]; come to report the execution of some orders given to him on the previous night. The aged Emperor bowed his head and recognised his destined successor. So firmly was this belief implanted in his mind that when, at some great ceremonial in the palace, Justin, eager to set right some mistake in the procession in front of the Emperor, brushed too hastily past him and trod upon the skirts of the purple mantle, the Emperor uttered no hasty word, but mildly said, 'Why such haste?' which men understood to mean, 'Canst thou not wait till thy turn comes to wear it? It will come before long.'

[1] Consul in 499. [2] Procopius, Anecdota, 6.
[3] Comes Excubitorum.

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Justin's want of education.

These are the legendary half-poetical adornments of the prosaic story which was told in a previous chapter, concerning the elevation of the orthodox Justin, by means of the misappropriated gold of Amantius, on the death of the Monophysite Anastasius. Whatever the precise chain of causes and effects which brought it to pass, the result was that an elderly Macedonian peasant [1], unable to read or write, but strictly orthodox as regards the subtle controversy between Leo and Eutyches, was seated on the throne of the Eastern Caesars. The difficulty arising from the presence of an unlettered emperor on the throne was evaded by making a wooden tablet containing the needful perforations through which the imperial scribe drawing his pen dipped in purple ink might trace the first four letters of his name [2]. Proclus, the Quaestor, composed his speeches and acted as his prompter on all state-occasions. Upon the whole, the elderly Emperor, good-tempered, clownish, and of tall stature, seems to have played this last scene in his strangely varied life without discredit, if also without any brilliant success.

[1] Justin was born in 452, and was therefore two years older than Theodoric.

[2] This is Procopius' account of the matter: 'In order that the documents which required the imperial signature might exhibit it, the following contrivance was adopted. In a little piece of wood was carved the shape of four letters of the Latin alphabet [IVST]. This tablet was placed on the document: a pen dipped in the [purple] ink which the Emperors are wont to use was put in his hand, and then the assistants taking the Emperor's hand and guiding it so as to make the pen travel round through all the perforations of the tablet, thus at length produced an imperial signature at the foot of the document.' I suspect, as has been before stated, that this is the origin of the similar story as to Theodoric's signature.

It was seen, however, in the negotiations with the Roman See as to the close of the schism, and it became more and more visible to all men as time went on, that the real wielder of all power in the new administration was the Emperor's sister's son JUSTINIAN. More than thirty years of age[1] at his uncle's accession, and having, probably through that uncle's influence, already filled some post in the civil service of the Empire; a man always eager for work and a lover of the details of administration; such a nephew was an invaluable assistant to the rustic soldier who had to preside over the highly cultured and polished staff of officials through whom he must seem to govern the Empire.

His nephew, Justinian, the real ruler.

The influence of Proclus the Quaestor gradually paled before that of the all-powerful nephew, whose servant he willingly became. A more formidable rival was the stout soldier Vitalian, who had upheld the standard of orthodoxy in the evil days of Anastasius, and whose restoration to office was an indispensable part of the reconciliation with the See of Rome. He probably looked for the reversion of the imperial dignity after the death of its aged possessor, and when he found himself raised to the rank of Magister Militum and created Consul (for the year 520), he might almost seem set forth to the people as Emperor Elect. To prevent any such mistake for the future, Justinian, or some one of his friends, caused him, in the seventh month of his consulship, to be attacked in the palace by a band of assassins. He fell, pierced

Death of Vitalian, 520.

[1] Mr. Bryce considers 483 the most probable date for the birth of Justinian. He would thus be thirty-five at Justin's accession (Dict. of Christian Biography: Justinian).

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by sixteen wounds: his henchmen, Paulus and Celerianus, fell with him, and the triumph of the party of Justinian was secure[1].

In the correspondence with Rome, Justinian had called Vitalian 'his most glorious brother[2],' and the fact that the two men had solemnly partaken together of the Holy Communion[3] should, according to the feelings of the age, have secured for the Master of the Soldiery an especial immunity from all murderous thoughts in the heart of his younger rival. The dark deed was not in accordance with the general character of Justinian, who showed himself in the course of his reign averse to taking the lives even of declared enemies; but there seems little reason to doubt that in this case he at least sanctioned, if he did not directly instigate, the murder of a dangerous competitor.

Justinian Consul, 521.

In the following year Justinian celebrated his own consulship with a splendour to which, under the reign of the frugal Anastasius, the Byzantine populace had long been strangers. A sum of 280,000 solidi (£168,000) was spent on the machinery for the shows or distributed as largesse to the people. Twenty lions, thirty panthers, and a multitude of other beasts, appeared at the same time in the Amphitheatre. Horses in great numbers, and equipped in magnificent

[1] Marcellinus Comes mentions the murder but does not ascribe it to Justinian; Victor Tunnunensis says that it was attributed to the faction of Justinian the Patrician. Procopius, who is mistaken as to the time of its occurrence, ascribes it to Justinian after he had become Emperor.

[2] 'Frater noster gloriosissimus Vitalianus' (Epist. ad Hormisdam, ap. Migne, lxiii. 476).

[3] Procopius, Anecdota, 6.

trappings, were driven by the most highly skilled charioteers of the Empire round the Circus. Already, however, even in the midst of the general rejoicing a note of discord was struck between the future Emperor and his subjects. So great was the excitement of the people, raised no doubt by the victory of one or other of the rival factions in the Circus, that the Consul found it necessary to strike out of the programme the last race which should have been exhibited[1].

Associated in the Empire.

A successor thus announced to the people beforehand was almost certain of the diadem. In fact Justinian was associated in the Empire four months before the death of his uncle, and appears to have succeeded to sole and supreme power without difficulty.

Justinian Emperor, 1 April, 527.

Death of Justin, 1 Aug. 527.

Delivered by the death of Justin from one associate in the Empire, Justinian lost no time in providing himself with another, of a kind such as Augustus would indeed have marvelled to behold using his name and wielding his decorously veiled supremacy.

Early history of Theodora.

During the reign of Anastasius a certain Acacius, who had charge of the wild beasts of the Amphitheatre for the Green party, died[2], and, as he had saved nothing out of his small salary, his widow and three daughters were left nearly destitute. The widow became the wife or the paramour of another menagerie-

[1] Marcellinus Comes gives us these particulars: 'Numerosos praeterea phaleratosque in Circo caballos, jam donatis quoque impertivis aurigis, una duntaxat ultimaque mappa insanienti populo denegata.' The *mappa* is the cloth that was dropped as a signal for starting the racers. I do not understand the 'donatis quoque impertivis aurigis.'

[2] We learn from this and similar statements that the factions of the Circus had a common purse and a common organization of their own.

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keeper, for whom she tried to retain her late husband's situation. But though the three little girls, Comito, Theodora, and Anastasia, appeared like sacrificial victims with fillets on their heads, and stretched out their little hands beseechingly to the spectators, the Greens, who were entirely guided by their manager Asterius, took away the place from their stepfather and gave it to another man. The Blues, the rival faction, were more accommodating, and having lately lost their keeper by death, gave his post to the husband of the widow of Acacius. In one of those little fillet-crowned heads was born on that day an undying resentment against the Green party, and an undying attachment to the Blue.

Her character.

The child Theodora grew up into a lovely woman, rather too short of stature, but with a delicate red-and-white complexion, and with brilliant quickly-glancing eyes, which told of the keen, restless, nimble intellect within. She evidently had something of the charm which belongs to a clever and beautiful Frenchwoman. Unfortunately, however, she was utterly destitute of womanly virtue or womanly shame. The least moral performer of the opera bouffe in Paris or Vienna is a chaste matron by comparison with the life of unutterable degradation which Theodora is said to have led in girlhood and early womanhood, as a prostitute and a dancer on the stage at Cyrene, at Alexandria, and throughout the cities of the East.

Justinian falls in love with her.

Returned to Constantinople, this bright and fascinating though abandoned woman kindled an irrepressible passion in the breast of the decorous and middle-aged student Justinian. His aunt Lupicina, who had taken the more stately name of Euphemia,

and who had been first the slave and then the wedded wife of Justin, firmly and, for the time, successfully opposed his scheme of marrying Theodora. Though lowly born herself, she would not consent that her husband's heir should be the instrument by which the unspeakable degradation of hailing such a woman as Augusta should be inflicted on the Roman Empire. Before long, however, the Empress Euphemia died, and then Justinian, whose passion had but grown stronger by delay, at once married the daughter of the menagerie-keeper. Laws which had come down from the old days of the Republic, forbidding the union of a Senator with a woman of notoriously bad character, were abrogated by the feeble old Emperor on the imperious request of his nephew. Theodora was raised to the dignity of a Patrician, and when at length Justinian wore the imperial diadem he insisted on sharing it with her, not as Empress-Consort, to borrow the terms of a later day, but as Empress-Regnant must Theodora sit upon the throne of the Roman world. All ranks in Church and State crouched low before the omnipotent prostitute. The people, who had once acclaimed her indecent dances on the stage, now greeted her name with shouts of loyal veneration, and with outspread hands implored her protection as if she were divine. The clergy grovelled before her, calling her Mistress and Sovereign Lady, and not one Christian priest with honest indignation protested against this degrading adulation.

Their marriage.

Theodora Augustus.

Raised to the throne of the world, Theodora assumed a demeanour in some degree corresponding to her elevation. Though not absolutely faithful to her husband, she disgraced his choice by no such acts of

Her insatiable pride.

open licentiousness as those by which Messalina had insulted the Emperor Claudius. It would seem as if her own nature underwent a change, and as if Pride now took possession of the character which hitherto had been swayed only by Lust. Heartless she had always been, in the midst of her wild riot of debauchery; and heartless she remained in the stupendous egotism which made Justinian and all the ranks of the well-ordered hierarchy of the Empire the ministers of her insatiable pride.

Contrast between her character and Justinian's.

In all things it seems to have been her fancy to play a part unlike that of her husband. He was strictly orthodox and Chalcedonian, she was a vehement Monophysite. He was simple and frugal in his personal habits, however extravagant as a ruler; she carried the luxury of the bath and the banquet to the highest point to which an opulent Roman could attain. He seldom slept more than four hours out of the twenty-four; she prolonged her siesta till sunset and her night's sleep till long after sunrise. He was merciful by temperament; she delighted in the power of being cruel. He showed himself easy of access to all his subjects, and would often hold long and confidential conversations with persons of undistinguished rank; she surrounded herself with an atmosphere of unapproachable magnificence, and while rigorously insisting that her subjects should present themselves in her audience-chamber, made the ceremony of audience as short, as contemptuous, and as galling to every feeling of self-respect as it was possible to make it. A pitiable sight it was to see the consuls, the senators, the captains and high functionaries of that which still called itself the Roman Republic waiting, a servile

Theodora's audiences.

crowd, in this harlot's ante-chamber. The room was small and stifling, but they dared not be absent. Her long slumbers ended, and the ceremonies of the bath and the toilette accomplished, an eunuch would open the door of the hall of audience. The wretched nobles pressed forward, or, if behind, stood on tip-toe to attract the menial's notice. He singled out one and another with contemptuous patronage. The favoured one crept in behind the eunuch into the presence-chamber, his heart in his mouth for fear. He prostrated himself before the haughty Augusta; he kissed reverently the feet which he had once seen briskly moving in lascivious dance on the public stage; he looked up with awe, not daring to speak till spoken to by the supreme disposer of all men's lives and fortunes. Such is the miserable picture presented to us by Procopius of the degradation of the great Roman commonwealth under its Byzantine rulers. Alas, for the day when the Senate, that assembly of kings, received with majestic gravity the over-awed ambassador of King Pyrrhus! Alas, for the selfish corruption of the *optimates*, and yet more for the misguided patriotism of a Caius Gracchus or a Livius Drusus, which had turned the old and noble Republic into an Empire, foul itself and breeding foulness!

Justinian's conscientious labour for the State.

Let it be said for Justinian, who had brought this shame upon the State, that he gave his days and nights freely to what he deemed to be its service. If he was insatiable in drawing all power into his own hand, he at least shrank not from the labour, even the drudgery, which the position of a conscientious autocrat involves. Especially, at the very beginning of his reign, did he devote himself to that which his

Law reform.

experience as a high officer of state under his uncle had shown him to be necessary, the reform of the laws of the Empire. Speaking without technical precision, one may say that the jurisprudence of Rome at this period consisted, like our own, of two great divisions, Statute Law and Case Law. The Statutes as contained in the Theodosian Code were insufficient, and the Cases contained in the *Responsa Prudentum*, the Institutions and the Sentences of great jurists such as Gaius, Paullus, and Ulpian, were redundant, bewildering, and often contradictory. Before Justinian had been a year on the throne he had appointed a commission, consisting of nine officials of high rank, to inquire into and codify the Statute Law. The leading spirit in this Commission and the chief mover in all the legal reforms of Justinian was the far-famed Tribonian, who was raised successively to the dignities of Quaestor and Master of the Offices; a man whose love of money and far from spotless integrity could not avail to dim the splendour of a reputation acquired by his vast learning, and made bearable by his gentle courtesy to all with whom he came in contact.

13 Feb. 528.

Codex.

Code published 7 April, 529, repealed and republished 16 Nov. 534.

After little more than a year of labour the Commissioners had completed the first part of their duties, and the Code of Justinian in twelve books was issued by the sovereign authority, expanding and superseding the Code of Theodosius and all previous collections of imperial rescripts.

Digest or Pandects.

The next piece of work was a harder one. Tribonian and his fellow Commissioners were directed to arrange in one systematic treatise, called the *Digest* [1], all that Roman lawyers of eminence had said concerning the

[1] Otherwise the Pandects.

principles of the law, as the varying circumstances of civil society had brought point after point under their attention. In fact their duty was similar to that which would be laid upon an English lawyer if he was called upon to codify the 'judge-made law' of England, incorporating with it all that is of importance and authority in the text-books, and where there is a conflict of opinion deciding which opinion is to prevail. This immense work, which 'condensed the wisdom of nearly two thousand treatises into fifty books, and recast three million "verses" from the older writers into one hundred and fifty thousand[1],' was accomplished in three years by Tribonian and his colleagues. Work done in such fierce haste as this could hardly be all accurate, but probably no injustice which it could cause was so great as that which it removed by letting daylight into the thick jungle of those three millions of legal sentences.

Commission for the Digest, 15 Dec. 530.

Publication of the Digest, 16 Dec. 533.

The Digest, which was divided into fifty books, is not arranged in any scientific order, but follows apparently more or less closely the order of that which had for centuries been the great programme of Roman jurisprudence, the so-called Perpetual Edict of the Praetors.

The Institutes.

The Code and the Digest being finished, Tribonian and his two most eminent colleagues were directed to prepare a short scientific treatise on the amended law of Rome, for the benefit of students. Thus came into being the Four Books of the *Institutes*[2], that book by which the fame of Justinian has been most widely

Publication of the Institutes, 21 Dec. 553.

[1] Justinian's Constitution 'Tanta' (Cod. i. 17. 2).

[2] More properly, Institutions. The text of the Prooemium calls them *Institutiones*.

BOOK IV. CH. 14. spread over the civilised world in the two hemispheres. The far-reaching relations in time of such a book as this are vividly apprehended when we remember that as it rests on the treatise of Gaius—which Niebuhr discovered in palimpsest in the Cathedral Library of Verona—it is itself rested upon by our own eighteenth century Blackstone, who of course had the name and the arrangement of this book in his mind when he composed his Institutes of English Law. Justinian's name and titles head the majestic manual. Of course Tribonian and the two professors, his colleagues, are really responsible for the literary execution of the work. Still, the historical student is never so well disposed to take a lenient view of the faults of the great Emperor as when he finds Caesar Flavius Justinianus, Alamannicus, Gothicus, Vandalicus, and so forth, crowned with names of victory over many barbarous races, but cheering the young student to the commencement of his task, and promising not to encumber his mind at first with details, lest he should disgust him at the outset, and cause him to abandon his studies in despair.

The Novels. Notwithstanding his attempt to put the stamp of finality on his two great works, the Code and the Digest, neither Justinian himself nor his indefatigable Quaestor could keep their hands from all further law-making. The *Novellae Constitutiones*, generally spoken of under a title which has since acquired such
535-564. a strangely different meaning, that of *Novels*, were promulgated at intervals for nearly thirty years, and in some respects seriously altered the unalterable Code.

Justinian's merits as a legislator. Except for some over-activity in issuing fresh laws after the publication of his Code, the fame of Justinian

as a legislator is unassailable. The hour had come for clearing broad and traversable highways through the stately but sky-hiding forest of Roman jurisprudence. With Tribonian for his engineer-in-chief, Justinian undertook this necessary work, and did it nobly. Rightly and justly therefore is the name of the peasant's son from the valley of the Vardar mentioned with reverence, wherever, from the Mississippi to the Ganges, teachers of the law expound the greatest of Rome's legacies to the nations, the *Corpus Juris Civilis.*

He was not so great as an administrator.

But it is a trite axiom in politics and in everyday life, that good legislation does not necessarily imply good administration. Many a man whose journal records the most excellent maxims for the conduct of his life, has been a torment to his family and friends. Many a public company, with admirably-framed Articles of Association, has chosen the pleasant road to an early bankruptcy. Many an Oriental state has proclaimed, and is proclaiming at the present day, the most excellent principles of government, not one of which it ever dreams of reducing into practice.

As an administrator Justinian does not occupy nearly so high a position as that to which his legislative triumphs entitle him. He certainly had one of the most necessary qualifications for a ruler, the power of selecting fitting instruments for his work. The man who chose Tribonian for his legal adviser, Belisarius and Narses for his generals, the designers of Saint Sophia for his architects, can assuredly have been no mean judge of human character. He had also the power of forming truly grand conceptions, and is

superior herein to two monarchs, with each of whom some points in his character tempt us to compare him —Louis XIV of France and Philip II of Spain. These merits, however, were more than counterbalanced by two great faults—intense egotism and financial extravagance. Coming as he did from the lower ranks of society to the administration of an old and highly-organised state, he was determined to leave his mark on every city of the Empire, on every department of the State. Some changes, like those involved in the codification of the Roman law, required to be made, and here the imperial egotist's passion for change worked well for the State. But besides this, many old and useful institutions were swept away, simply in order that the name of Justinian might be magnified. Local self-government received from him some of its severest blows. The postal service[1], one of the best legacies from the great days of the Empire, he allowed to be ruined by greedy and shortsighted ministers, who sold the post-horses and divided the proceeds between their master and themselves. The venerable institution of the consulship, which still linked the fortunes of New Rome with the dim remembrance of the republican virtues of Brutus and Publicola, must be swept away. The schools of philosophy at Athens, touched certainly with the feebleness of age, but still showing an unbroken descent from Socrates, and deserving to be spared, if only for the sake of their late illustrious pupil Boethius, were closed by imperial decree, and the seven last Platonists were driven forth into exile, obtaining at length by the intercession of the King of Persia permission to exist, but no longer to teach, in

His egotistic innovations.

[1] Cursus publicus.

that which had once been the mother city of all philosophy. BOOK IV. CH. 14.

The mania of the empurpled Nihilist for destroying every institution which could not show cause for its existence by ministering to the imperial vanity, would have been less disastrous if it had not been coupled with an utter indifference to expense. Whatever dispute there may be as to other parts of the character of Justinian, there can be none as to his having been one of the worst of the many bad financiers who wore the diadem of the Caesars. His extravagance.

In reading the two histories in which Procopius records the vast operations of this monarch, both in peace and war[1], we are inclined to ask, 'Did the question once in his whole reign occur to the mind of Justinian, whether he was justified in spending the money of his subjects on this campaign which he meditated, or on that palace or basilica for which the architect had furnished him with plans?' Certainly the results of his financial administration speak for themselves:—the carefully and wisely hoarded treasure of Anastasius all spent, the very wars themselves starved, and in some cases protracted to three or four times their necessary length by the emptiness of the exchequer, and the people of his realms left at Justinian's death in a state of exhaustion and misery greater, if that be possible, than the subjects of Louis XIV of France after that monarch's seventy years' quest of 'glory.'

The treasure of Anastasius had perhaps been melting away during the nine years of the reign of Justin. During this time the war with Persia was begun, 518-527.

[1] The 'De Aedificiis' and 'De Bellis.'

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War with Persia, 524–531.

Early indications of financial pressure.

a war about which something will be said in the following chapter. Before Justinian had been five years on the throne the financial oppression of his subjects, particularly in the country districts, was becoming intolerable. Owing to changes in the mode of collecting the land-revenue and the abolition of the *cursus publicus*, the inhabitants were impoverished by the oppressive rights of pre-emption[1], claimed by the government, and worn out with forced labour[2] in moving produce from the interior of the country to the sea.

Forced labour.

Women with babes at their breasts were forced to take part in this cruel toil, and often did they, their husbands, and brothers fall dead by the road-side, where they were left, unpitied and unburied[3]. There was no time for funeral rites; the Emperor's corn must be delivered in so many days at the sea-port, where, without fail, some venal officer or some slave of one of the palace slaves stood ready to take his tithe of the tithes collected at the cost of so much agony.

New taxes.

The very names of the new taxes imposed on various pretexts, about twenty in number, were terrible to the bewildered people[4]. And this was what they had earned by those delirious shouts of joy which hailed

[1] Συνωνή.

[2] Angaria, nearly equivalent to the French *corvées*.

[3] Joannes Lydus, de Magistratibus, p. 264 (ed. Bonn), from whom most of the details here given are drawn.

[4] Here are those preserved by Lydus, but evidently much mutilated by uncomprehending copyists:—censualia, holographica, bouleutica, homodula, homocensa, aphantica, encataleleimmena, politica, tamiaca, deputata, recolata, refusa, cerastismi, ropae, paralla(x)a, topi, endomatica, metatorica . . . . ellephoros apaitesis.

the accession of Justin and the death of Anastasius, the tender-hearted Anastasius, who with such infinite trouble had rooted out one obnoxious tax, the Chrysargyron, in the room of which Justinian had planted a score.

The peasants flock into the cities.

Despairing of earning a subsistence in the country, the dispirited peasantry flocked into the towns, above all into the capital city. In Constantinople there was at least food to be had, for the corn-rations were still distributed to the people; and in Constantinople there was the delicious excitement for an absolutely idle populace, of the races in the Hippodrome. We have already made some little acquaintance with the contending colours of these circus-factions. They were four in number, but owing to the obscurity of the Red and the White, they were practically reduced to two, the Blue and the Green[1]. And such was the excitement produced among the favourers of these two colours, by the victory or defeat of their respective champions, that the contemporary Byzantine historian can call it nothing less than a madness, a curse, and a disease of the soul. They would pour out their money; they would expose themselves to blows and the most contemptuous insults, yea, even to death itself; they would rush into the thickest of a fray, well knowing that in a few minutes the city-guards would be upon them, and would drag them off to the dungeon and to death. All this they heeded not if only the Blues might take their revenge on the bodies of

Factions of the circus.

[1] Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 51) seems to speak of all four colours as still used: 'Colores autem in vicem temporum quadrifaria divisione *funduntur*,' and Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century speaks of all four factions.

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their antagonists for the victory of a Green charioteer, if only the Greens might pay off a long score of insults by breaking the heads of a mob of presumptuous Blues. Murder was of course the frequent consequence of these faction-fights; and it was perhaps not always murder in hot blood, but sometimes secret and premeditated. Even women, though not allowed to visit the theatre, were bitten with the madness of the strife; and brothers, friends, the companions of a lifetime were turned into irreconcilable enemies by these absolutely senseless quarrels. Certainly of all the strange exhibitions of his character which Man has given since he first appeared upon our planet, few have been more unutterably absurd than the fights of Blues and Greens in the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

Justinian favours the Blues.

It was evident, soon after his accession, that the husband of Theodora meant to favour the Blue party, and in a few years, a long list of grievances was recorded in the hearts of the opposite faction against him. Such was the state of feeling in the multitude —the Blues jubilant with imperial favour, the Greens sore at heart and indignant against their oppressor, a multitude of the country-folk, having not as yet taken sides definitely with either colour, but remembering and cursing the tyrannical acts which had driven them from their immemorial homes—when on the morning of the Ides of January, 532[1], the august Emperor took his seat in the *podium* and commanded the races to begin. Race after race, till twenty-two races had been run, was disturbed by the clamours of the angry Green faction. Their fury was chiefly directed against the Grand Chamberlain and Captain

Scene in the Hippodrome, 13 Jan. 532.

[1] Marcellinus Comes and Malalas.

of the Guard, Calopodius[1], to whom they attributed their ill-treatment. At length Justinian, worried out of his usual self-control, began to argue with the interrupters; and so the following extraordinary debate took place, in shrill shouts to and from the Imperial *podium*[2].

Dialogue between the Emperor and the Green party.

The Green party. 'Many years mayest thou live, Justinianus Augustus. *Tu vincas*[3]. O only good one, I[4] am oppressed. God knows it, but I dare not mention the oppressor's name lest I suffer for it.'

The Emperor's answer to the people came back from the lips of a stalwart *Mandator* who stood beside his throne, while a busy short-hand writer (*Exceptor*) at once began to take down all the words of this strange dialogue, that they might be enrolled in the official *Acta* of the Empire.

Mandator. 'Whom you mean, I know not.'

The Greens. 'O thrice August one, he who oppresses me will be found at the shoemakers' shops[5].'

[1] Calopodius had been, under Anastasius, a favourer of the Monophysites, and therefore probably of the Green party. He was accused of having stolen from under the altar of the Great Church the written covenant by which Anastasius bound himself to Macedonius to keep inviolate the decrees of Chalcedon (Theophanes, s. a. 512; p. 133, ed. Paris). But no doubt with the change of sovereigns he had changed his colour and his creed.

[2] It will be seen that I have availed myself of several suggestions made by Prof. Bury (ii. 56–59) in his translation of this curious but difficult dialogue.

[3] 'Mayest thou conquer.' This conventional acclamation to the sovereign was still uttered in Latin, though written down in Greek characters, τοῦ βίγκας.

[4] The dialogue shifts from the singular number to the plural with strange abruptness, but I have thought it better not to remove these blemishes.

[5] Τὰ τζαγγαρία, rendered by the Latin translator 'ad sutorias

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532.

Mandator. 'I know not whom you are speaking of.'

The Greens. 'Calopodius the Guardsman oppresses me, O Lord of all.'

Mandator. 'Calopodius has no public charge.'

The Greens. 'Whatever he may be, he will suffer the fate of Judas. God will reward him according to his works.'

Mandator. 'Did you come hither to see the games or only to rail at your rulers?'

The Greens. 'If any one oppresses me, I hope he will die like Judas.'

Mandator. 'Hold your peace, ye Jews[1], ye Manicheans, ye Samaritans.'

The Greens. 'Do you call us Jews and Samaritans? We all invoke the Virgin, the Mother of God.'

Some sentences of scarcely intelligible religious abuse between the two parties to the dialogue follow. Then says the Mandator—'In truth, if you are not quiet I will cut off your heads.'

The Greens. 'Be not enraged at the cry of the afflicted. God himself bears all patiently. [How can I appeal to you in your palace?] I cannot venture thither, scarcely even into the city except by one street when I am riding on my mule[2].'

Mandator. 'Every one can move freely about in this city, without danger.'

The Greens. 'You talk of freedom, but I do not

officinas;' probably a pun on the name of Calopodius, as Καλοπόδιον = a shoemaker's last.

[1] A play on the words. The Greens hope that Justinian may die like *Judas*. He thereupon calls them *Judaei*.

[2] The translation is very doubtful here. Μίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν προέρχομαι, ὅτ' ἂν εἰς βορδόνην (?) καθέζομαι.

find that I can get it. Let a man be ever so free, if he is suspected of being a Green, he is taken and beaten in public.' BOOK IV. CH. 14. 532.

Mandator. 'Gallows-birds! have you no care for your own lives, that you thus speak?'

The Greens. 'Take off that colour [the emblem of the Blues] and do not let justice seem to take sides[1]. . . . I wish Sabbatius [the father of Justinian] had never been born. Then would he never have begotten a murderous son. This is the sixth murder[2] apparently that has happened at the Yoking-place[3]. In the morning he was looking on at the games, and in the evening twilight, O Lord of all, he had his throat cut.'

The Blues here interposed with angry denial. 'All the murders on the race-course have been committed by you alone.'

The Greens. 'When you murder you run away[4].'

The Blues. 'You murder and throw everything into confusion. All the murders on the race-course are your work alone.'

The Greens. 'Lord Justinian! They stir us up to strife, but no one kills them. Remember, even if you

[1] Prof. Bury renders (probably with more correctness) 'Let this [green] colour be once uplifted: then justice disappears.'

[2] Εἰκότως ἕκτος, the new reading, gives, as Prof. Bury points out, a much better sense than the old one, εἰκοστὸν ἔτος.

[3] Zeugma. According to Ducange this was a suburb of Constantinople, where the mules were unyoked that brought the body of St. Stephen to the capital. But Prof. Paspati, our highest authority on points of Byzantine archaeology, throws some doubt on this explanation. He says, 'The two gulfs near Constantinople now called the Small and Great Tjekmedjé, were formerly called ζεύγματα.'

[4] Πότε ('vulgar for ὅτε,' Bury) σφάζεις καὶ ἀποδημεῖς.

BOOK IV. CH. 14. do not wish to do so, who slew the wood-seller at the Yoking-place, O Emperor!'

532. *Mandator.* 'You slew him.'

The Greens. 'Who slew the son of Epagathus, O Emperor?'

Mandator. 'Him too you slew, and then tried to throw the blame on the Blues.'

The Greens. 'Again! and again! Lord have mercy on us! Truth is trodden under foot by a tyrant. I should like to throw these things in the teeth of those who say that God governs the world. Whence then this villainy?'

Mandator. 'God cannot be tempted with evil.'

The Greens. '"God cannot be tempted with evil." Then who is it that allows me to be oppressed? Let any one, whether Philosopher or Hermit, read me this riddle.'

Mandator. 'Blasphemers and accursed ones! when will ye be quiet?'

The Greens. 'If your Majesty will fawn upon that party[1], I hold my peace, though unwillingly. O Thrice August one, I know all, all: but I am silent. Farewell, Justice: you have no more business here. I shall depart hence, and then I will turn Jew. It is better to become a Heathen than a Blue, God knows[2]!'

The Blues. 'We hate the very sight of you. Your petty spite exasperates us.'

The Greens. 'Dig up the bones of the [murdered] spectators.'

With that the whole faction of the Greens streamed

[1] 'If it is the pleasure of your Majesty' (Bury), Ἂν θεραπεύηται τὸ κράτος σοῦ.

[2] Μᾶλλον δὲ Ἑλληνίσαι συμφέρει καὶ μὴ Βενετίσαι, ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν.

out of the Hippodrome, leaving the Emperor and the Blue party sole occupants of the long rows of stone *subsellia*[1].

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Commencement of insurrection.

The day was drawing towards a close when this multitude of enraged Orientals poured forth into the streets of Constantinople. Soon it was evident that the tumults which had embittered the later days of Anastasius were to be renewed, on a larger scale, and with more appalling circumstances, by reason of the crowds of hungry, idle, and exasperated rustics who had flocked into the town. Fire began to be applied to the buildings round the Hippodrome, and to the porticoes of the Palace in which the household troops were lodged. All through the earlier stages of the sedition Justinian kept quiet in his palace, with the nobles who had assembled there according to custom on the Ides of January, to offer their congratulations and to receive from his hands the tokens of their various promotions for the new year[2]. Probably his

Fire-raising.

[1] The dialogue between Justinian and the Greens, which Gibbon truly calls one of the most singular that ever passed between a prince and his subjects, is reported in full only by Theophanes. As he is a late authority (ninth century) and often inaccurate, the authenticity of the dialogue has been questioned. But he appears to be quoting from the official *Acta*, the first few lines of which are given in nearly the same words by the Paschal Chronicle (circa 630). The very obscurity of some of the sentences seems to show that Theophanes was transcribing some document which he only imperfectly understood: and it is equally difficult to imagine what motive he could have had for inventing a dialogue so full of insults against the honoured name of Justinian, and from what spurious source, if so desirous, he could have obtained so many touches characteristic of the times.

[2] I combine the statement of Malalas (p. 474, ed. Bonn) with that of Procopius (i. 24, vol. i. p. 121 same edition), and with the fact that Hypatius and Pompeius were at the Palace.

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expectation was, that the insurrection, if unopposed, would wear itself out; or that, at the worst, the fury of the attacked Blues would check the fury of the attacking Greens.

The Blues and Greens fraternise.

Soon, however, an ominous symptom appeared. The Blues began to sympathise with the Greens, and to join in the wild orgie in which their rivals were engaged. In a recent attempt to deal out even-handed justice between the two factions, the Prefect of the City had arrested seven notorious murderers, chosen indifferently from both parties. Four had been sentenced to death by beheading, three by hanging. The sword had done its work surely, but the gallows had broken under the weight of their victims, and two of the culprits, one a Blue, the other a Green, had thus escaped for a time the sentence of the law. The good monks of the neighbouring monastery of St. Conon had found them not quite dead, had put them on board ship, and had carried them to the church of St. Lawrence. The Prefect of the City insisted that the law should have its due, but popular sympathy was aroused on behalf of the wretches who had so narrowly escaped death. A common interest in the fate of their friends seems to have brought the two factions, hating one another with such deadly hatred, into momentary accord. As the old watch-words of party were suddenly become obsolete, they invented new ones. Not the loyal cry, 'August Justinian, may you conquer!' but 'Long live the friendly Greens and Blues[1]!' was to be the battle-shout of the united factions, and 'Nika' (Victory) their secret pass-word.

[1] Φιλανθρώπων Πρασίνων καὶ Βενέτων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη (Malalas).

With this reconciliation of the Circus-factions the sedition assumed a more important and a political character. The name of the chamberlain Calopodius drops out of the story, and those of the Quaestor Tribonian, of the Praetorian Prefect, John of Cappadocia, begin to be heard. Tribonian, with all his matchless knowledge of the law, was suspected, perhaps justly suspected, of sometimes framing the new laws so as to suit the convenience of those litigants who approached him with the heaviest purse in their hands. John of Cappadocia was undoubtedly a man absolutely devoid of principle, coarse, unlettered, vicious, but one whose daemonic force of will and whose relentless heart were all put at the disposal of his master for the purpose of wringing the maximum of taxes out of a fainting and exhausted people.

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532. The insurrection becomes political.

Cries against Tribonian and John of Cappadocia.

When the cry for the removal of these ministers came, Justinian at once yielded to it, and replaced them by men who stood higher in favour with the people. But still the riot went on. The futile endeavours of the soldiers to cope with it only increased its fury; and, sure mark that all the lowest and most lawless elements of society had broken loose, Fire was the favourite weapon in the combat. The Senate-house, the Palace of the Praetorian Prefect, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Baths of Alexander, were all burnt[1]. At last, either because the mob had grown wild and desperate with destruction, or because the wind which had sprung up respected not the distinctions which

General conflagration.

[1] The Senate-house and the Baths of Zeuxippus were in the near neighbourhood of the Hippodrome on the east. The Praetorian Palace was on the west of it. The situation of the Baths of Alexander is unknown (Ex rel. Prof. Paspati).

BOOK IV. CH. 14. 532. they would have made, the sacred buildings themselves were given to the devouring flame. The great church of Saint Sophia, and its neighbour the church of Saint Irene, fell in blackened ruin. Between these two edifices, the dwellings of Divine Wisdom and Peace, the charity of a devout man of earlier time [1], Sampson by name, had reared a hospital [2] for the reception of the sick and aged poor. This noble illustration of the spirit of Christianity shared the fate of its statelier neighbours, and, alas for the madness of the populace, all the sick folk who were lying in the wards of the hospital perished in the flames.

Thus for five days raged the demon Fire through the streets of Constantinople [3]. Through the short January day thick clouds of smoke rolled round basilica and portico. At night two red and flaring lines mirrored themselves in the Golden Horn and the Bosporus. The ineffectual efforts of the soldiers to suppress the riot did but increase the mischief. The Octagon [4] was set fire to by them in their endeavours

[1] Procopius de Aedificiis, i. 2.

[2] Ξενών, ἀνθρώποις ἀνειμένος ἀπορουμένοις τε καὶ νοσοῦσι τὰ ἔσχατα εἰ πρὸς τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσοῖεν (Procopius, ubi supra). This (says Paspati) was the earliest known hospital, and a very sumptuous one of its kind.

[3] Prof. Paspati considers that Procopius is our best authority as to the Fire of Constantinople, and that we must take his topographical details rather than those of Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicle. The buildings in the Augusteum (east of the Hippodrome) were all consumed. The fire did not penetrate to the Palace itself, which rose on the south-east of the Augusteum, but the Octagonon very near the southern wall of the Palace was consumed. The churches of St. Irene and St. Sophia which perished in this conflagration were wooden buildings.

[4] This was probably a public library: see Ducange, Constantinopolis Christiana, ii. 152.

to expel the rebels, and the flames thus kindled consumed the church of St. Theodore and the vestry adjoining it. BOOK IV. CH. 14. 532.

The rebels are without a leader.

Still for some time the insurrection lacked an aim and a leader. Justinian was despised, but no name was suggested instead of his. On the first or second day, it is true, the rioters marched to the house of Probus (no doubt the nephew of Anastasius and brother of Pompeius), searched the house for arms, and shouted as they searched, 'Probus for Emperor of Romania!' but not succeeding in their quest, nor prevailing on Probus to accept the offered diadem, they cast fire into his house and added it to the general destruction.

Probus will not accept the diadem.

18 Jan. 532. Justinian appeals in vain to the compassion of the mob.

On Sunday, the fifth day of the insurrection[1], Justinian sought to propitiate the mob by following the example of Anastasius and making an appeal to their compassion. Taking his place in the seat of honour in the Circus, he held on high the roll of the Holy Gospels. The populace streamed once more into the Hippodrome, to hear what their sovereign would say to them. Laying his hand on the sacred books, he swore a solemn oath: 'By this power I swear that I forgive you all your offences, and will order the arrest of none of you, if only you will now return to your obedience. The blame is none of yours, but all mine. For the punishment of my sins I did not grant your requests when first you addressed me in this place.' The humiliation was as great as that of Anastasius, but not so efficacious in disarming the

[1] Combining Procopius and the Paschal Chronicle, I reckon that the insurrection actually commenced on the 14th of January (Wednesday), and that the proclamation of Hypatius and Pompeius occurred on the morning of the 19th.

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fury of the mob. Some shouted 'Justiniane Auguste, tu vincas!' but many were silent, and there was even heard the insulting cry, 'O ass, thou art swearing falsely[1]!'

He returns to the palace, and orders the nephews of Anastasius to leave it.

With his dignity ruffled and his easy temper disturbed Justinian returned to the palace. There, apparently, all the nobles who had assembled on the Ides of January were still mustered, not having dared to return to their homes through the raging populace. The Emperor's eye fell on Hypatius and Pompeius, the nephews of Anastasius, and in an angry voice he ordered them to leave the palace. Procopius doubts whether to refer this strange order to suspicion of a conspiracy on their part, or to the influence of a mysterious destiny. The humbler theory, that it was due to mere ill-temper and annoyance, may perhaps be deserving of consideration. The two cousins naturally suggested that it was unfair to throw them at such a critical moment in the very path of conspirators and rebels; but Justinian insisted, and forth they went, slinking under cover of the twilight to their homes.

19 Jan. 532. The populace proclaim Hypatius Emperor.

Next day, when the news of their departure from the palace was noised abroad, the whole multitude flocked to the house of Hypatius, intent on proclaiming him Emperor. In the campaign against Vitalian, eighteen years before[2], Hypatius had held the highest command, and the course of events seems to have pointed him out as, upon the whole, the most eminent of the nephews of Anastasius. When the multitude

[1] 'Επιορκεῖς, σγαύδαρι. Ducange (in his note on the Paschal Chronicle) suggests γάδαρε, and translates as above.

[2] See p. 416.

announced their intention of proclaiming Hypatius in the Forum, his wife Mary, a woman of great ability and noble character, with tears and cries besought them not to lead her husband to certain death. Hypatius also earnestly pleaded that he had no desire for the dangerous honour. But the people were inexorable. Mary's entwining arms were thrust aside, and Hypatius was borne by the shouting multitude to the Forum of Constantine, where he appears to have been soon after joined by his cousin Pompeius. As no diadem was at hand, a collar of gold was placed on the head of Hypatius. He was raised high up on the steps of the statue of Constantine, clothed in the white *chlamys* which was to mark his military rank, and all the vast multitude shouted with one accord, 'Hypatie Auguste, tu vincas!'

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There was a discussion among the adherents of the new Emperor whether they should at once march to the palace of Justinian and grapple with their foe. Had they done so, Justinian would probably have been faintly remembered in history as a sovereign who made some attempt to reform the Roman laws and perished in a tumult after a reign of five years. And in truth this was the view which he himself was prepared to take of the chances for and against him. In a council held in the palace his voice apparently was for flight by the sea-gate, outside of which his ships were moored[1]. But then was heard the manly voice of Theodora, insisting on resistance to the death. 'When

Council in the palace of Justinian.

Theodora's voice is for resistance.

[1] The ships (says Prof. Paspati) were in the little harbour of Bucoleon, below the church of St. Irene. They could not be moored outside, on account of the strength of the current of the Bosporus.

BOOK IV. CH. 14. man has once come into the world, death sooner or later is his inevitable doom. But as for living, a royal

532. fugitive, that is an intolerable thought. Never may I exist without this purple robe; never may the day dawn on me in which the voices of all who meet me shall not salute me as Sovereign Lady[1]. If then, O Emperor, you wish to escape, there is no difficulty in the matter. Here is the sea: there are the ships. But just consider whether, when you have escaped, you will not every day wish that you were dead. For my part, I favour that ancient saying, "There is no grander sepulchre for any man than the Kingship."'

Operations of Belisarius and Narses.

The stirring words of Theodora prevailed. Belisarius, a young officer who had acquired great renown in the Persian war, was commissioned to attack with his small but disciplined body of troops the vast mob of Constantinople; and at the same time a middle-aged Armenian named Narses, an eunuch who had attained the rank of Grand Chamberlain in the imperial household, stole out of the palace with a heavy purse of money in his hand, to persuade and bribe the leaders of the Blue faction back to their old allegiance.

Deliberations of the friends of Hypatius.

While this council was resolving on resistance to the uttermost, that of Hypatius resolved on procrastination. The advice of a Senator named Origen had determined them to leave the palace of Justinian unattacked, trusting that its occupant would soon be a fugitive, and to make for the old palace, which still bore the name of Flaccilla, the wife of Theodosius. On their way to this building the whole multitude

[1] Μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενοίμην τῆς ἁλουργίδος ταύτης χωρίς, μηδ' ἂν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην βιῴην, ἐν ᾗ με δέσποιναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες οὐ προσεροῦσιν.

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532. Message of Hypatius to Justinian.

halted for a time in the Hippodrome. Hypatius, who was still a most unwilling claimant of the purple, at this juncture sent one of the noble guard[1] named Ephraemius to Justinian with this message: 'Thy enemies are all assembled in the Circus; thou canst do with them what thou wilt.' Unfortunately Ephraemius met the Emperor's physician and confidant Thomas, who had heard of the rumoured flight, but had not heard of the later resolution to defend the palace. 'Whither are you going?' said Thomas to the glittering Candidatus: 'there is no one in the palace; Justinian has fled.' This message, brought to Hypatius, seemed to show that there was nothing for him but to reign; and he accordingly accepted the situation, mounted to the *podium*, and probably harangued the Roman people assembled in the Circus as their lawful Imperator.

Belisarius attacks the multitude in the Hippodrome.

Better had it been for Hypatius to be crouching, as he crouched eighteen years before, by the Scythian shore, up to his neck in the water and only his head showing, 'like a sea-bird's,' above the waves. He was in less danger then from the savage Huns than now from the insulted Emperor whom he had failed to dethrone. Belisarius heard that the rebels were all in the Hippodrome. With the instinct of a born general he saw in a moment his one chance of victory. With his band of disciplined soldiers, most of them barbarians[2], he mounted the narrow *cochlea* (spiral staircase) which led from the palace to the Emperor's box in the Hippodrome. A barred door prevented his entrance. He shouted to the soldiers, some of his

[1] Candidati.

[2] The Paschal Chronicle calls them Goths (p. 876, ed. Migne).

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own veterans, who were in attendance on Hypatius, 'Open the door, that I may get to the usurper!' The soldiers, who wished to commit themselves to neither side, feigned not to hear. Then did Belisarius well-nigh despair of success, and, returning to the palace, he told the Emperor that his cause was ruined. But there remained another gate called the Brazen Gate, on the side to which the populace had set fire, and to it, amid falling timbers and over smoking ruins, Belisarius and his soldiers forced their way. This entrance adjoined the portico of the Blues, and perhaps was for this reason better adapted to the purposes of Belisarius; for at the same time the leaders of the Blue party who had received the bribes of Narses were beginning to shout, 'Justiniane Auguste, tu vincas!' Then was heard the war-cry of Belisarius; the flashing swords were seen; suspicions of treachery, which soon grew into panic fear, fell upon the multitude. The one desire of every citizen was to escape from the Hippodrome, a desire impossible of fulfilment; for, lo! at the same moment Mundus, another of Justinian's generals, hearing the uproar and rightly divining the manœuvre of Belisarius, pressed in to the Circus by another gate, called, as if in prophecy, the Dead Gate. The two generals did their bloody work relentlessly, so that no civilian, either citizen of Constantinople or stranger, either partisan of the Blues or the Greens[1], who chanced that day to be in the Hippodrome, left it alive.

The massacre in the

It was estimated that 35,000[2] persons fell in this tumult. Justinian announced his victory as if it had

[1] So says Theophanes (p. 158).

[2] Joannes Lydus says 50,000.

been won over some foreign foe, in exulting letters to all the great cities of his Empire. The triumph was won by ruthless disregard of human life, by an utter refusal to attempt to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty: but it was not a wholly barren one for the State. After this terrible lesson, it was long before the populace of Constantinople attempted to renew the disturbances which had disgraced the later years of Anastasius. BOOK IV. CH. 14. 532. Hippodrome.

Hypatius and his cousin Pompeius were dragged out of the imperial box in the Circus and brought into the presence of Justinian. They fell prostrate before him, and began to sue for pardon on the plea that it was by their persuasion that the enemies of Justinian had been collected in the Hippodrome. 'That was well done,' said the Emperor (who had not yet heard of the message sent by Hypatius), 'but if the multitude were so willing to obey your orders, could you not have done it before half the city was burnt down?' He ordered them away to close confinement, upon which Pompeius, a man with whom all things till then had gone smoothly, began with tears and groans to bewail his hard fate. The more rugged Hypatius sharply rebuked him: 'Courage, my cousin: do not thus demean thyself. We perish as innocent men: for we could not resist the pressure of the people, and it was out of no ill-will to the Emperor that we went into the Hippodrome.' Fate of Hypatius and Pompeius.

On the following day they were slain by the soldiers, their goods were confiscated, and their bodies were cast into the sea. After a few days, however, Justinian relented towards them, having heard the true story of the message of Hypatius. Thomas, the doctor who

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had so ill served the interests of his august patient, was ordered to be beheaded. The property of the two unfortunate Patricians was restored to their relatives, and commands were issued for the burial of their bodies. Only that of Hypatius, however, could be recovered from the keeping of the Bosporus, and over this when buried, Justinian, with all his clemency, could not deny himself the pleasure of carving an insulting epitaph [1].

The blackened heaps representing the stately buildings of Constantinople reminded a spectator who saw them of the masses of lava and cinders surrounding the cones of Vesuvius and Lipari. Soon however, by the command of the Emperor, troops of workmen were busily engaged in clearing away the rubbish and laying the foundations of new churches, baths, and porticoes. Thus was employment found for the ruined provincials who still swarmed in the city: and before long a new and fairer Constantinople rose from the ruins of the old [2].

So ended the celebrated sedition of the Nika. Its chief interest for us is that it brings us face to face with two men who gathered great fame in Italy, Belisarius and Narses.

[1] 'Here lies the Emperor of Luppa.' The insult is too subtle to reach the ears of posterity.

[2] The astronomer will be interested in reading the account of a meteoric shower which occurred in the year of the Nika sedition (532). Theophanes says: 'The same year there was a great running of the stars (ἀστέρων γέγονε δρόμος πολὺς) from evening till dawn, so that all were struck with amazement and said, "The stars are falling:" nor do we know of such a thing having ever happened at any other time.'

CHAPTER XV.

BELISARIUS.

Authorities.

Sources :—

PROCOPIUS and MALALAS.

Guides :—

For a complete analysis of the character of Procopius, literary and political, and for a careful estimate of his position in reference both to Justinian and Belisarius, I must refer my readers to Dahn's 'Prokopius von Cäsarea.' In the history of the Persian War I have been helped by Rawlinson's 'Seventh Oriental Monarchy,' in that of the Vandal campaign by Papencordt's 'Geschichte der Vandalen.' Lord Mahon's 'Life of Belisarius,' though occasionally helpful, is upon the whole a disappointing performance.

War between the Empire and Persia, 526–532.

THE peace between the Roman and the Persian Empires which was concluded in 505, after lasting for twenty-one years, was broken upon a strange cause of quarrel. The Persian king, Kobad, now far advanced in years, in order to secure the succession to the throne for his favourite son Chosroes, proposed to the Emperor Justin that that monarch should adopt him as his son. Justin was prepared to assent, but, listening to the dissuasions of the Quaestor Proclus, who feared that Chosroes might found on such an adoption a claim to the Roman as well as the Persian diadem, he eventually refused this act of courtesy. There were already some

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grievances against the Romans rankling in the mind of Kobad. They would not pay their promised quota towards the defence of the passes of the Caucasus from the Northern barbarians. They had built, contrary to agreement, the strong city of Daras close to the Persian frontier, almost overlooking the lost and bitterly-lamented city of Nisibis[1]. When tidings came that the Macedonian peasant who called himself Augustus would not recognise the descendant of so many kings as his son, or would at most only confer upon him that military adoption as 'son-in-arms' which was a compliment paid to Gepid and Ostrogoth princes, the old monarch of Ctesiphon was furious. He must have war with Rome; and war accordingly was waged by him and his son after him, for five years, among the Mesopotamian highlands and on the fertile plains of Syria.

Early history of Belisarius.

With the details of this war we have no concern except in so far as they are connected with the entrance upon the stage of history of the young hero-general, Belisarius. Born about the year 505, probably of noble parentage, in the same Macedonian mountain-country[2] from which Justin and his nephew had descended to Thessalonica, Belisarius was serving in the body-guard of Justinian, and had the first manly

[1] See vol. i. p. 124.

[2] I believe our only hint as to the birthplace of Belisarius is in the De Bello Vandalico of Procopius (i. 11): *Ὥρμητο δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ἣ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν μεταξὺ κεῖται.* 'Between the Thracians and Illyrians' exactly describes Justinian's native land of Dardania. But I cannot help thinking that 'Germania' is due to some error of transcribers. Can the true name be *Graniriana*, which, I know not on what authority, appears in our classical atlases about twelve miles north of Naissus, at the site of the modern Alexinatz?

526.

down upon his lip[1] when, in the year 526, he and another officer of his own age were entrusted with the command of the troops which were to invade the Persian (or Eastern) portion of Armenia. Fields were laid waste and many hapless Armenians were carried into captivity, but no successes in battle were earned by the young generals.

Belisarius commandant of Daras, 527.

Soon after, Belisarius was made commandant of the newly-erected fort and city of Daras: and while in this command he made a selection which has had more to do with his subsequent renown than many victories. He chose 'Procopius of Caesarea who compiled this history' to be his Judge-Advocate[2]. The office which I attempt to indicate by this suggested English equivalent was known among the Romans by names which we have borrowed from them, those of Counsellor and Assessor[3]. For a Roman general like Belisarius, exercising by virtue of his office judicial power over civil as well as military persons, but having received himself no legal education, it was absolutely necessary to have a trained jurist ever by his side, who might so guide his decisions that they should be conformable to the laws of the Empire. Occasions would also often arise in connection with the diplomatic duties that Belisarius had to discharge towards the rulers of the lands invaded by him, in which the presence of a learned Byzantine official would be of great assistance to a comparatively unlettered soldier. Such an adviser, legal assessor and diplomatic counsellor, was Procopius: not the general's

Procopius the 'counsellor' of Belisarius.

Nature of his office.

[1] Ὑπηνήτης.

[2] Τότε δὴ αὐτοῦ ξύμβουλος ᾑρέθη Προκόπιος, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε.

[3] Consiliarius and Assessor: in Greek, ξύμβουλος and πάρεδρος.

private secretary, but, it may be said, in a certain sense, his official colleague, though in a very subordinate capacity.

His fifteen years of intimacy with the general, 527–542.

Whether Procopius held precisely this relation to Belisarius during all the fifteen years that they were campaigning together, in Mesopotamia, in Africa and in Italy, it is difficult to say. It is slightly more probable that the official tie may have been sundered, and that the learned civilian may have remained on as a visitor and trusted friend in the tent of his chief, by whom he was occasionally employed on semi-military enterprises which required especial tact and exercise of the diplomatic faculty. It seems clear that, during all the period above mentioned, something more than official relations existed between the two men; that the counsellor loved and admired the general, and that the general respected and liked the counsellor. We shall have hereafter to trace, or if we cannot trace, to conjecture, the disastrous influences by which a friendship so honourable to both parties, and cemented by so many years of common danger and hardships, was at last broken asunder; and owing to which Procopius in his old age became the passionate reviler of the hero whom in his youth and middle life he had so enthusiastically admired.

Literary position of Procopius.

The position occupied by Procopius in the history of literature is interesting and almost unique. After so many generations of decline, here, at length, the intellect of Hellas produces a historian, who, though not equal doubtless to her greatest names, would certainly have been greeted by Herodotus and Thucydides as a true brother of their craft. Procopius has a very clear idea how history ought to be written. Each of

his books, on the Persian, the Vandal, and the Gothic wars, is a work of art, symmetrical, well proportioned, and with a distinct unity of subject[1]. His style is dignified but not pompous, his narrative vivid, his language pure, and the chief fault that we can attribute to it is a too great fondness for archaisms, especially for old Homeric words, which are somewhat out of place in the pages of a prose author. He exhibits a considerable amount of learning, but without pedantry: and resembles Herodotus in his eager, almost child-like interest in the strange customs and uncouth religions of barbarian nations. He picks up from hearsay all that he can as to a land like Thulë (Iceland or the North of Norway) lying within the Arctic Circle, and only regrets that, though earnestly desirous of the journey, he has never been able to visit that land in person and be an eye-witness of its wonders[2].

Political attitude of Procopius.

In politics Procopius shows himself an ardent lover of the glory of the great Roman Empire, of which he feels himself still thoroughly a citizen. In his most important work (the *De Bellis*) he preserves a truly dignified tone towards the Emperor, whose great achievements he praises without servility: but he often contrives to introduce in the speech of a foreign ambassador or the letter of a hostile king some tolerably severe Opposition-criticism on the home or foreign

[1] One must except from this statement the so-called fourth book of the Gothic Wars, which is a mere supplement to all the others, and has no unity of subject.

[2] *Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐς ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν νῆσον, τῶν τε εἰρημένων αὐτόπτῃ γενέσθαι, καίπερ γλιχομένῳ τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνηνέχθη* (De. Bell. Gotth. ii. 15; p. 206).

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policy of the omnipotent Justinian. Very different from the manly and moderate tone of this his standard work are the sickening adulation of the *De Aedificiis* and the venomous tirade of the *Anecdota*, both of which books must belong to the old age of Procopius, the former being apparently written to the Emperor's order and therefore crowded with insincere and extorted compliments, while the latter was never to leave the author's desk while he lived, and therefore received all the pent-up bitterness of his insulted and indignant soul.

His religious position.

The attitude of Procopius towards the religious questions which agitated the Eastern world is as peculiar as his literary position. While all, or nearly all of his contemporaries are taking sides in the bitter theological controversies of the day, he stands aloof and looks coldly on the whole shrill logomachy. That he can speak the language of the Christian faith, when Court etiquette requires him to do so, is proved by some passages in the *De Aedificiis* which have an entirely Christian sound [1]. But, though he will not go to the stake for his faith, nor indeed forego any chance of Court favour for the sake of it, it is clear that his real convictions are not Christian, but that he is a philosophical Theist of the school of Socrates and Plato : and we may be almost certain that he derived his religious creed as well as his rhetorical style from

[1] These are collected by Dahn (Prokopios, 196–201). The heathen inhabitants of Borium turn to Christianity in order to save their souls (vi. 2). Jesus is emphatically recognised as the Son of God (v. 7). The Samaritans insulted the Christian mysteries in a manner 'about which we [Christians] must keep silence,' and so on.

those philosophers of the University of Athens, whom Justinian banished and silenced in his lifetime [1]. In his own writings he wavers in some degree between a devout Theism and a half-sullen acquiescence in the decrees of a blind, impersonal destiny: but, upon the whole, Theism rules his mind, and he sometimes speaks, even with a reverent love, of the dealings of Providence with mankind. Probably the following passage from an early chapter of his Gothic history [2] tells us as much as he himself knew about his innermost thoughts on religious subjects. After describing an embassy from the Pope to the Emperor 'on account of the doctrine about which the different Churches of Christendom dispute among themselves,' he continues :—

Procopius' confession of faith.

'But upon the points in dispute. I, *though well acquainted with them,* shall say as little as possible, for I hold it to be proof of a madman's folly to search out what the Nature of God is like. For, by man, not even the things of a man can in my opinion be accurately apprehended, far less those which pertain to the Nature of God. I shall therefore pass over these subjects in safe silence, only remarking that I do not disbelieve in those things which other men reverence. For I would never say anything else concerning God, except that He is altogether good and holds all things in His own power. But let every one else, whether priest or layman, speak on such subjects according to his own presumed knowledge.'

There have been times in the history of the world,

[1] Probably indignation at this act of shabby oppression and bigotry is one cause of the bitter tone of the Anecdota.

[2] i. 3.

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His Hellenism an important element in his character as a historian.

with reference to which an inquiry of this kind as to the religious opinions of their describer would be irrelevant and almost impertinent. No one who knows the spirit of the sixth century will say this of Procopius. His attitude of aloofness from special theological controversy secures his impartiality between warring sects. His philosophical Theism is the key to much that would otherwise be perplexing in his own writings. As a 'Hellenising' rather than a Christian historian he stands in a direct line of succession from authors with whose works we have already made considerable acquaintance, Ammianus, Eunapius, Priscus, and Zosimus: and it would be an interesting inquiry, had we space for it, to ascertain where his Heathenism agrees and where it differs from theirs. Upon the whole, in the age of change and transition in which he lived, Procopius would seem to have clung fast to two great facts in the World-History of the Past, the wisdom of Greece and the greatness of Rome, and not to have accepted that clue to the interpretation of the Present and the anticipation of the Future which was offered him by Augustine's vision of the City of God.

Belisarius Magister Militum, 530.

From this sketch of the character of the biographer we return to survey the actions of his hero, the young imperial guardsman, Belisarius. The campaigns of the three years from 527 to 529 seem to have consisted of desultory and indecisive skirmishes: but in the last year Belisarius was appointed *Magister Militum per Orientem*; and this concentration of power in the hands most capable of wielding it was soon followed by a brilliant victory. In 530, in the midst of negotiations for peace, the Persian *Mirran* or commander-in-

Persian attack.

chief, Perozes, made a dash at the new, much-hated fortress of Daras. In point of strategy he seems to have shown himself superior to the imperial general, since he was able to concentrate 40,000 men for the attack, while Belisarius could muster only 25,000 for the defence. Deeming the battle as good as won Perozes sent an arrogant message to the Roman commander: 'Prepare me a bath in Daras, for I intend to repose there to-morrow.' But when the Persian troops advanced to the attack they soon perceived that they were in the presence of a master of tactics and that their victory would not be an easy one. Under the walls of Daras Belisarius had ordered his troops to dig a long but not continuous trench, with two side-trenches sloping away from it at an obtuse angle at either end. His irregular troops, consisting chiefly of Huns[1], Heruli, and other barbarians, were stationed in the intervals which had been purposely left between the various parts of this line of defence. Behind them, ready to take advantage of any victory which might be won by the irregulars, lay the disciplined masses of the main body of the imperial army[2].

[1] Both here and in other passages of his histories Procopius has somewhat perplexed his successors by talking about the *Massagetae.* He gives us, however, the key to the riddle in a passage in the De Bello Vandalico (i. 11): 'Aegan was of the race of the Massagetae, *whom they now call Huns.*' He always prefers archaic words and names, calls Constantinople Byzantium, and Dyrrhachium Epidamnus: and on the same principle prefers to call the Huns Massagetae because he finds the latter name in Herodotus and not the former. But there is no need for modern historians to follow his example: and I therefore use the word with which the story of Attila has made us familiar, instead of its shadowy Herodotean equivalent.

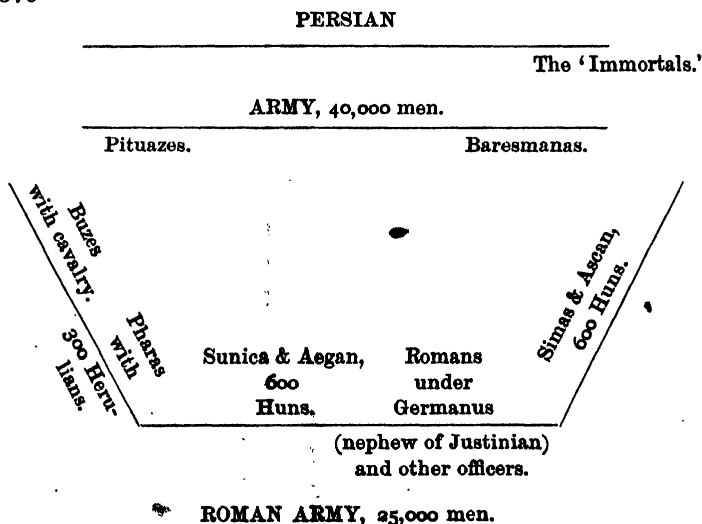
[2] A diagram will make the description of the battle some-

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530. Battle of Daras. First day.

On the first day of the battle the Persians advanced, but retreated, seeing the imminent danger they were in of a flank attack if they threw themselves upon any point of the half-hexagon. Again they advanced and won some slight advantage, but failed to maintain it. The sun was now near setting, and the attention of both armies was distracted by the brave deeds of Andreas, a gymnastic master and the bathing attendant of a Roman general, who engaged two Persian champions in succession and slew them both. In the second encounter the spears of the two combatants were both shivered on the opposing breastplates; the horses met in full career and fell to the earth from the violence of their onset. Then ensued a struggle which of the two champions should first rise from the ground; a struggle which the gymnastic skill of Andreas terminated in his favour. He struck the Persian who had risen on one knee, with another blow he felled

what clearer. For a somewhat different arrangement, see Bury, ii. 375.



him to the earth, and so slew him amid the tumultuous applause of the Roman soldiery. BOOK IV. CH. 15.

530. Battle of Daras. Second day.

That night was passed by both armies in their previous positions. In the early morning (while the Persian general was marching up 10,000 additional troops from the city of Nisibis), messages were interchanged between the generals. Belisarius, avowing that he held it to be the highest mark of generalship to obtain peace, invited the Mirran even now, at the eleventh hour, to relinquish an attack which, made as it was in the midst of negotiations for peace, had in it something of the nature of treachery, and to retire within the Persian frontier. The Mirran replied: 'If you were not Romans we would listen gladly to your arguments: but you belong to a nation which neither promises nor oaths can bind. We have met you now in open war, and will either die here or fight on till old age overtakes us, that we may force you to do us justice.' Said Belisarius: 'Calling us hard names alters not the truth of facts. God and justice are on our side.' The Mirran answered: 'We too know that the gods are on our side, and with their help we shall to-morrow be in Daras. As I said before, let my bath and my breakfast be prepared within the fortress.' Belisarius put the letters on the point of his standards, as a symbol to all the army that he fought against men who were truce-breakers and perfidious.

Before beginning the action, the Mirran did his best to re-assure his soldiers as to the unexpected check of the previous day, and the strange new signs of cohesion and discipline exhibited by their Roman antagonists. His oration, as reported by Procopius, is, if we may rely on its genuineness, the most striking of

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 530. all testimonies to the genius of the Roman general in turning a disorderly mass of discordant nationalities into a harmonious whole, animated by one spirit, and mighty either for onset or resistance. Belisarius, in his brief speech to his soldiers, insisted on the paramount necessity of order and discipline, the secret of their previous day's success and the means of securing on that day a far more splendid triumph. Especially he bade them not to be discouraged by the superior numbers of the enemy. The Persians possessed some brilliant *corps d'élite* (such as the troops known as the Immortals): but the great mass of the army, according to the Roman general's statement, consisted of squadrons of clumsy rustics, labourers rather than soldiers, good at undermining walls or plundering the bodies of the slain, but whose only notion of fighting consisted in covering themselves with their huge shields, keeping their own bodies safe for a time, but powerless to injure the enemy.

The battle began at noon, the Persians, who dined late, having purposely chosen this time for the attack, because they deemed that the Romans, debarred from their usual mid-day meal, would be faint with hunger. A cloud of arrows from both sides soon darkened the air. In number the missiles of the Persians greatly exceeded; but a favouring wind gave a deadly energy to the fewer darts of the Romans. The Mirran had drawn up his army in two divisions, intending continually to recruit his first line with drafts from the unwearied troops behind them. On the Roman side, the trench with its two flanking lines was still the framework of the position: but Pharas the Herulian, anxious to do great deeds, and not seeing his oppor-

tunity in the crowded lines at the left-hand angle of the trenches, asked and obtained leave to make a long flank march and to occupy an eminence in the rear of the Persian right. BOOK IV. CH. 15. 530.

Two generals, under the Mirran, commanded the Persian army, Pituazes on the right, Baresmanas on the left. The onset of Pituazes at first met with some success: perhaps the withdrawal of Pharas had unduly weakened the Roman line at the point assailed by him. Soon, however, the generals who were posted behind the main trench saw their opportunity to make a charge on the advancing Persians: and at the same time the appearance of Pharas on his hill in their rear turned the repulse into defeat. Belisarius, who saw that no further danger was to be apprehended from this quarter, withdrew Sunica, a Hunnish commander who had been stationed on the left of the main line, and swung him and his 600 Hunnish horsemen round to strengthen the Roman right, at this time sorely pressed by the advancing Persians. In fact, the Roman troops at the end of the main line were already in full flight. But the Huns on the flanking trench, under Simas and Ascan, joined by their brethren under Sunica and Aegan, now swooped down upon the pursuing Persians. Sunica himself, at the critical moment of the battle, struck down the standard-bearer of Baresmanas. The Persians found that they were being assailed both on the right and the left. They wavered a little in their headlong pursuit: the fugitive Romans finding themselves not followed, turned and faced them: they were soon hopelessly cut off from the rest of the Persian army. Sunica slew Baresmanas and dashed him from his horse to the ground. Great

Defeat of the Persians.

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 530. fear fell on all the Persians when they saw their standard fallen, their general's horse riderless. Five thousand of their soldiers, thus surrounded, were cut to pieces: and the rest of the Persians, seeing the slaughter, dashed down their great shields and fled in panic from the field.

Belisarius, mindful of his great inferiority in numbers and fearful of an ambuscade, forbade a distant pursuit of the enemy. The battle, which was a decisive one, had in truth been gained by tactics not unlike those which had in old times been practised by the Parthians against their enemies, namely, by taking advantage of the disorder into which the very fact of pursuit betrays an apparently successful squadron. We can see that the mode of fighting is as dissimilar as possible to the old steady advance of the heavy-armed legions of Rome. Belisarius's army, Roman only in name, consists largely of Huns, Herulians, and other stalwart barbarians drawn from along the northern frontier of the Empire. Courage they have in abundance: they need but discipline to make them irresistible, and that the subtle brain and commanding presence of Belisarius, a born general and king of men, supply in perfection.

Character of the tactics of Belisarius.

Campaign of 531.

How entirely the success of the imperial arms was due to the personal ascendency of Belisarius over his troops was clearly shown in the campaign of 531, when, for want of proper subordination on their part, the battle of Sura was lost by the Romans. In the deliberations in the Persian Court at the beginning of that year, Perozes, the late Mirran, appeared shorn of his dignity, and no longer wearing the circlet of gold and pearls which had before wreathed his brows. This

BOOK IV. CH. 15.

531. Advice of a Saracen chief to the Persian king.

was the punishment inflicted by the King of Kings on the general who had lost the battle of Daras. While the King and his counsellors were discussing the possible routes for invading the Empire by the old battle-fields of Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia, Alamundar, king of the Saracens, who had been all his life waging a guerrilla war against the Empire on its Arabian frontier, proposed a new plan of campaign. He would avoid the strong border fortresses on the Upper Euphrates and its affluents, cross the river lower down, traverse the wide desert north of Palmyra, and so, reaching that frontier of the Empire upon which there were no fortresses, because the desert was supposed to be its bulwark, strike boldly at Antioch itself. The plan thus proposed, coming from the lips of the king of the Saracens, was a too fatal forecast of the woes which should fall upon the Empire from that very quarter, when the sons of the desert should no longer be serving as vassals of the Persian king, but should be overthrowing empires on their own account, and fighting under the standard of the Prophet.

The Persians invade Syria.

The counsel of Alamundar pleased Kobad and his nobles, and accordingly 15,000 men were ordered to cross the Middle Euphrates at Circesium[1], their new general being a Persian noble named Azareth, and Alamundar himself being their guide across the desert.

[1] It is pointed out by Rawlinson (Seventh Oriental Monarchy, p. 374) that Malalas here is more to be depended upon as to the route of the invaders than Procopius. The mention by the latter of the province of Commagene, 100 miles or so to the north of the district really invaded, is an instance of the too frequent topographical inaccuracy of the latter writer.

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 531.

The expedition at first obtained some successes, and the citizens of Antioch, fearing for the safety of their city, streamed down the valley of the Orontes to the coast of the Mediterranean[1]. But tidings of the invasion having reached Belisarius, he ventured to leave the upper frontier comparatively undefended and to make a forced march with an army of 20,000 men to the little lake of Gabbula, about sixty miles east of Antioch, where the enemy were mustered. On hearing of his approach they abandoned the enterprise in despair, and began to retreat towards the Persian frontier. Belisarius followed, slowly pushing them down the western bank of the Euphrates, avoiding a pitched battle, and each night encamping in the quarters which the enemy had occupied the night before. He had in this way reached the little town of Sura, nearly opposite the city of Callinicus. The latter, though on the other side of the Euphrates, was a Roman city, for down to this point both banks of the great river were still included in the Empire. Here the invaders were intending to cross the Euphrates and make their way back across the desert to their own land. Nor was Belisarius minded to stop them. True, they still carried with them some of the spoil which they had gathered in the plains of Chalcis, but the shame of a thwarted enterprise more than outweighed this advantage.

Belisarius pursues the invading army in its retreat.

But now arose a strange delusion in the Roman army, shared alike by the most experienced officers and by the rawest recruits just drawn from following the plough in the valleys of Lycaonia, to face, for the

The army clamours for a battle.

[1] Malalas, p. 462 (ed. Bonn).

first time, the realities of war[1]. They all thought that they could read the fortunes of the game better than the general: and they dared to impute to that dauntless spirit the greatest of all sins in a soldier's code of morality—cowardice. In vain did Belisarius remonstrate against this infatuated determination to jeopardy the substantial fruits of the campaign for the sake of the mere name of victory. In vain did he remind them that they were exhausted by the rigour of their Paschal fast:—it was the day before Easter Sunday, and no orthodox Byzantine would touch any food from daybreak to nightfall. All was in vain. The soldiers only shouted more loudly what they had before murmured in secret, 'Belisarius is a coward! Belisarius hinders us from beating the enemy!' Seeing that the troops were getting out of hand, and knowing that some of their officers were openly siding with the men, Belisarius with a heavy heart yielded to their clamour, pretended that he had only opposed, in order to test, their eagerness, and made his arrangements for the coming battle.

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531.

19 April, 531.

The Romans, with their faces to the south, touched the shore of the Euphrates with their left, and at this end of their line was stationed the bulk of the Roman infantry. In the centre, Belisarius himself commanded the cavalry, at that time the most important portion of the army. On the right, the Roman position was strengthened by the steepness of the ground. Here fought those Saracen tribes who were friendly to the Empire, and mingled with them were some soldiers

Arrangement of the troops.

[1] Ἐπεὶ ἄρτι τῆς γεωργίας ἀφέμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου κατέστησαν, ἀγνῶτα σφίσι τὰ πρότερα ὄντα (Procop. de Bello Pers. i. 18; p. 96, ed. Bonn).

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531.

who bore the name of Isaurians. In reality, however, they were the Lycaonian rustics to whom reference has already been made. Like the name of Switzer after the great battles of Granson and Morat, so was Isaurian in the armies of the Empire, a title of honour sometimes claimed by men who had little right to it.

On the other side, Azareth and his Persians by the Euphrates faced the Roman left and centre: while the Saracens under Alamundar faced their countrymen on the Roman right.

Battle of Sura (or Callinicus).

For some time the battle hung in suspense. Both armies were fighting with missile weapons, and the Roman archers, though less numerous, drew a stronger bow and did more deadly execution than the Persian. After two-thirds of the day had thus elapsed, an impetuous charge of Alamundar caused the Roman right to waver. Ascan the Hun, by the prodigies of valour which he performed, checked for some time the rout of this portion of the army, but after he and the 800 braves who were with him had fallen, there was no longer a show of resistance in this part of the field. The Lycaonian rustics, who were lately so loud in teaching lessons of valour to Belisarius, fell like sheep before the knife, scarcely lifting a weapon in self-defence. The Saracens, pursued by their brother Saracens and the mighty Alamundar, streamed in disorder across the plain.

Rout of the Romans.

Belisarius, when he saw the death of Ascan, was forced to flee with his cavalry to the infantry beside the Euphrates. Dismounting from his horse, he fought as a foot-soldier in the ranks, and bade his companions do the same. Turning their backs to the river, the little band of Romans with tightly-locked shields

formed a solid wedge, against which the masses of Persian cavalry dashed themselves in vain. Again and again the unavailing charge was attempted. At length night fell, and under its friendly shelter Belisarius and the brave remnant of his army escaped across the river to Callinicus, where they were safe from the Persian pursuit. When Easter Sunday dawned, the Persians as masters of the field buried the bodies of the slain, and found to their dismay that as many of their own countrymen as of the Romans lay upon the plain.

531.

Return of the Persians to their own land.

The event of the battle, though abundantly vindicating the wisdom of Belisarius in desiring to decline it, did not greatly alter the course of the campaign. The Persian generals continued their retreat: and when they appeared in the presence of Kobad, the aged monarch asked them what Roman city they had added to his dominions, or whether they had brought him any of the spoil of Antioch. 'Not so, O King of Kings,' answered Azareth, 'but we return from winning a victory over Belisarius and the Roman army.' 'At what cost?' said Kobad. 'Let the arrows be counted.' It was an ancient custom in the Persian state that the army, when about to start for a campaign, should defile before the king, and that each soldier should cast an arrow into a basket at his feet. The baskets were sealed with the king's seal, and kept in a place of safety till the return of the host. They then again marched in order past the king, each soldier as he passed drawing forth an arrow from the basket. The arrows undrawn told the tale of the soldiers who returned not from the enemy's land. Now, after the day of Sura so numerous were these,

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 531. the arrows of the dead, that Kobad taunted the triumphant general with his too dear-bought victory; and never after was Azareth entrusted with any high command.

Death of Kobad, 8 Sept. 531. Accession of Chosroës. Four months after the battle of Sura, Kobad died; his long and eventful life being ended by a rapid attack of paralysis. His third son, the celebrated Chosroës or Nushirwan, succeeded to the throne, though not without a struggle, in which he put to death every male of his father's house. Possibly these domestic troubles made him the more ready to end the war with the Roman Emperor. After some little diplomatic wrangling a peace, proudly called 'The Endless Peace[1],' was arranged between the two Empires. The fortresses taken on either side were to be restored; Daras was not to be occupied as a military post; and Justinian was to pay Chosroës 11,000 pounds' weight of gold (£440,000) as a contribution towards the expenses of guarding the Caucasus frontier from the barbarians. Upon the whole, the terms were a confession on each side that the game was drawn.

Peace concluded, 532. Ratified by Justinian, 533.

Recall of Belisarius, 531. Meanwhile, shortly after the battle of Sura, Belisarius had been recalled to Constantinople by his master, who already meditated employing the talents of this brilliant officer in an entirely new field. It was probably at this time that the young general met and married the woman who was thenceforward to exercise so mighty an influence over his fortunes. Antonina, whose father and grandfather had been charioteers, and whose mother had been a woman of loose character connected with the theatre, could not

His marriage.

[1] Ἡ ἀπέραντος καλουμένη εἰρήνη (Procopius, i. 22; p. 114).

be considered on the score of birth an equal mate for the young guardsman. In years also she had the disadvantage, being according to Procopius[1] twenty-two years, and certainly not less than twelve years, her husband's senior. She was a widow, and had two grown-up children, when Belisarius married her. The strong and abiding affection which bound the great general to this strangely chosen wife, his deference for her clear and manly judgment, his toleration of her strange vagaries, and even of the stain which she more than once brought upon his honour, all seemed like a reflection of his imperial master's passion for Theodora. At present, however, the two great ladies, the comic dancer and the actress's daughter, were not on friendly terms with one another. At a later period, the friendship of Theodora for Antonina was to be a factor strongly influencing the fortunes of Belisarius both for good and for evil.

Age and character of Antonina.

The service upon which Justinian meditated employing Belisarius was to lie in the lands of the West, as far from Constantinople in that direction as the plains of Mesopotamia were in the other. He was to renew the attempt, in which Basiliscus had failed so disastrously sixty-five years before—the attempt to pull down the great Vandal kingdom and restore the provinces of Africa to the sway of the Emperor.

The projected Vandal war.

Two months after the battle of Sura a revolution took place at Carthage which furnished Justinian

[1] He says that Antonina was sixty in 543, and therefore born in 483. I suspect that Procopius has added some years to her age, but the ages of her children make it impossible that she could be born much, if at all, after 493. The birth-year of Belisarius was probably about 505.

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Hilderic King of the Vandals, May, 523.

with an admirable pretext for such an enterprise. We have seen that Thrasamund was succeeded by Hilderic, the elderly grandson of Gaiseric, with Catholic sympathies derived from his mother Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III. Not only by his religious divergence from the ancestral creed was Hilderic ill-fitted for the Vandal throne. His subjects, though they had lost much of their old warlike impetuosity, still loved at least to talk of battle and the camp: while Hilderic, in the exceeding softness and tenderness of his nature, could not bear that any one should even speak of warlike matters in his presence [1]. For eight years the Vandal nation and the family of Gaiseric bore, with increasing impatience, the rule of such a king. At length, in June, 531, his cousin Gelimer, the great-grandson of Gaiseric, a man who had himself almost passed middle life, a warrior and head of a brotherhood of warriors, unwilling to wait any longer, thrust the feeble Hilderic from the throne and mounted it himself, with the full consent of the Vandal nobility. The two nephews of Hilderic, one of whom, Höamer, had been called, on rather slight martial cause, the Achilles of the Vandals, shared his captivity.

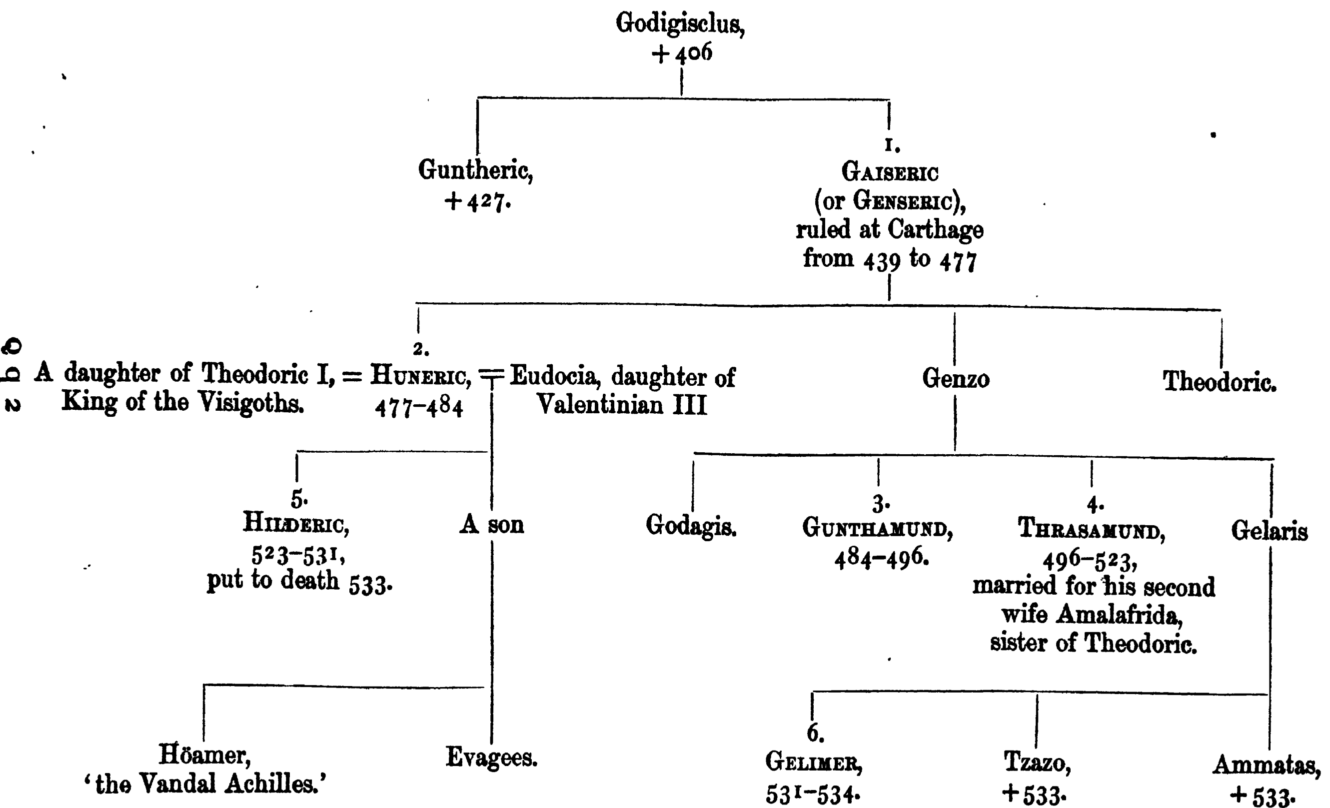
Gelimer deposes Hilderic, June, 531.

Remonstrances of Justinian.

On hearing these tidings Justinian, who had commenced a friendly correspondence with Hilderic before his own accession to the throne, wrote to remonstrate with Gelimer, and to insist that the aged monarch should continue to wear at least the title, if not to wield the power, of a king. Throughout the corre-

[1] *Οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγεγόνει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον μαλθακός τε λίαν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὦτα τὸ πρᾶγμά οἱ τοῦτο ἐθέλων ἰέναι* (Procopius, De Bell. Vand. i. 9).

GENEALOGY OF THE VANDAL KINGS.



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spondence the Emperor assumed the attitude of one who watched over the execution of the testament of Gaiseric, Gaiseric once the irreconcilable enemy of Rome, but now, by a constitutional fiction, her traditional friend and ally.

Hoamer blinded.

To the remonstrances of Justinian, Gelimer replied by blinding the Vandal Achilles and by subjecting Hilderic and his other nephew to a yet closer captivity. A letter of stronger remonstrance from Constantinople was answered by a brief and insolent note, in which 'King Gelimer informed King Justinian[1] that nothing was more desirable than that a monarch should mind his own business.' Irritated by this reply, Justinian began seriously to meditate an expedition to chastise the insolence of the Vandal. Negotiations were commenced with Chosroës which resulted in 'the Endless Peace' with Persia, and a pretext was made for recalling Belisarius to Constantinople that the plan of the coming campaign might be discussed with him.

Further correspondence. Insolence of Gelimer.

Belisarius in the insurrection of the Nika, 532.

All these schemes were for a time cut short by the terrible insurrection of the Nika, in which the timely presence of Belisarius at the capital saved the throne of Justinian. That chapter closed, the Emperor began again to discuss with his counsellors his designs of African conquest. The proposed war was universally unpopular. The terrible loss of treasure and life in the unsuccessful expedition of Basiliscus was in every one's mouth. Each general dreaded the responsibility of so distant and uncertain an enter-

[1] Βασιλεὺς Γελίμερ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ. Of course βασιλεύς is a regular title for the Eastern Emperor: but Gelimer seems to wish to put himself on an equality with Justinian.

prise. The soldiers, who seemed to themselves to have come from the uttermost ends of the earth toward the sun-rising, murmured at the thought of visiting the equally distant lands of the sunset, before they had had time to taste any of the pleasures of the capital. The great civil officers groaned over the prospect of the toil they would have to undergo and the odium they must incur in collecting money and stores for so remote an expedition.

532.

Speech of John of Cappadocia against the African expedition.

The chief of these civil officers, the ablest, the most illiterate, and the most unscrupulous man among them, the Praetorian Prefect, John of Cappadocia, delivered an oration in full consistory, earnestly dissuading the Emperor from his enterprise. 'You wish, O Augustus, to reach with your arms the city of Carthage. That city lies at a distance from us of 140 days' journey if you go by land. If you sail to it you must cross a wide waste of waters and reach the utmost limits of the sea. Should misfortune overtake your army, it will be a whole year before we hear the tidings of it. And even if you conquer Africa, O Emperor, never will you be able to hold it while Italy and Sicily own the sway of the Ostrogoth. In a word, success in my opinion will bring you no lasting gain, and disaster will involve the ruin of your flourishing Empire.'

The project abandoned.

For the time Justinian was shaken by the unanimous opposition of his counsellors, and was willing to relinquish the project. But the insulting words of Gelimer rankled in his breast; the glory of restoring the province of Africa to the Empire and her Church to the Catholic communion was too alluring to be abandoned: and when a Bishop from a distant

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533.

Eastern diocese announced that he had come to Constantinople, commissioned by the Almighty in a dream, to rebuke the slackness of Justinian and to say, 'Thus saith the Lord, I myself will be his partner in the war and I will subdue Libya under him,' the ardour of the Emperor could no longer be restrained; soldiers and ships were collected, and Belisarius was ordered to be in readiness to take the command of the expedition on the earliest possible day. He was invested, for the second time, with the rank of *Magister Militum per Orientem*: he was surrounded by a brilliant staff, and Archelaus the Patrician, formerly Praetorian Prefect, was attached to the expedition as Paymaster of the Forces.

The project resumed.

Belisarius was accompanied by his two trusty counsellors, Antonina and Procopius. The latter tells us honestly that he had shared the general dread and dislike of the enterprise, but he too had had his favourable dream which had put him in better heart and caused him to enter upon the service with eagerness.

Numbers of the army and fleet.

The army consisted of 10,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, and was composed of regular Roman soldiers and *foederati*, the latter probably preponderating. Huns and Heruli occupied prominent positions, not only in the ranks but in the general's tent. The fleet conveying this army comprised 500 ships, the largest of which was of 750 tons burden, and the smallest 45[1]. The large number of 20,000 sailors (forty to each ship, great and small) manned this fleet. There were besides ninety-two fast war-ships,

[1] 50,000 and 3,000 medimni respectively. The computation is nearly that adopted by Papencordt (Gesch. der Vandalen, 136).

of the kind called *dromones*, rowed by 2,000 Byzantines. These ships had only one bank of oars, and were roofed over to protect the rowers from the enemy's darts. We may perhaps consider that they occupied a similar position in the Byzantine fleet to that held by the torpedo-boats of to-day in a modern navy.

The fleet sets sail, June, 533.

About Midsummer-day, in the year 533, the armament, the subject of so many hopes and fears, sailed from the quay in front of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople. Epiphanius the Patriarch came on board the general's ship, offered the accustomed prayers, and, for greater good-fortune, left a newly-baptized soldier, a convert to Christianity, under the flag of Belisarius. Calms detained the fleet for some days in the Hellespont, and, while there, two drunken Hunnish soldiers slew a man with whom they had quarrelled[1]. Belisarius hung them up at once in sight of the whole army on a hill overlooking Abydos. Their comrades murmured; but the general, in a short, vigorous speech, reminded them that their only hope of success in the enterprise which they had undertaken lay in the observance of strict justice, without which neither God's favour nor man's could be looked for by them. And as for the plea of drunkenness, no man, whether Roman or barbarian, should be allowed to plead that as an excuse for his crime, which was rather its aggravation. The soldiers heard the general's words, looked upon the gallows from which their comrades were hanging, and conceived a salutary fear of offending against the laws which found so prompt a defender.

[1] Procopius says that of all mankind the Huns were the most intemperate in drinking.

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533. Detention at Methone. Dishonesty of John of Cappadocia.

The winds were not favourable, and at Methone[1] there was another long detention of the fleet. The misery of sickness was added to the misery of inaction, and that sickness was caused by the dishonest cupidity of a Byzantine official. John of Cappadocia, who had contracted to supply the fleet with a certain number of pounds' weight of biscuit, had sent the dough to be baked at the furnace which heated one of the public baths at Constantinople. He had thus economised baker's wages and fuel, and he had prevented the shrinking in volume which resulted from a proper application of the process. But the so-called twice-baked bread[2], only once baked and that imperfectly, was a loathsome and corrupting mass when the sacks containing it were opened at Methone. The commissaries at first insisted on supplying it to the men. A pestilence was the natural result, from which five hundred soldiers died. As soon as the matter came to the ears of Belisarius, he at once reported the Prefect's dishonesty to Justinian, stopped the issue of the unsound stores to the troops, and purchased the bread of the district for distribution among them.

Voyage from Zante to Catania.

At length the fleet reached Zante and there took in water. Still so idly flapped their sails that it took them sixteen days to cross from Zante to Catania in Sicily, and during this passage many of the ships' crews suffered severely from want of water. On board the general's ship, however, there was abundance; for

[1] Now Modon, near Navarino, at the S.W. corner of the Morea.

[2] *Τὸν ἄρτον . . . δὶς μὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐς τὸν πνιγέα εἰσάγεσθαι.* In other words, it ought to be *biscuit*, not bread.

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the provident Antonina had stored a large quantity of the precious fluid in some glass *amphorae*, which she had then deposited in an improvised wooden cellar, constructed in the hold of the ship and carefully covered over with sand. Thus the general and his staff, including the grateful Procopius, had always plenty of cool draughts of water, while their comrades on board the other ships were parched with thirst.

Friendly reception in Sicily.

About two months had probably elapsed from the time of the fleet's departure from Constantinople before it reached Sicily. Owing to the unhealed quarrel between the Vandals and Ostrogoths, resulting from the death of Amalafrida, and owing also to the relations of intimate alliance which the Romanising Amalasuntha had established with Justinian, Sicily afforded the imperial troops not only a safe but a friendly resting-place, where they could re-fit and re-victual their ships at pleasure. Without this advantage, which the madness of the Vandals had thrown in their way, it may be doubted if the Byzantine expedition could possibly have succeeded.

Anxiety of Belisarius.

Belisarius, however, notwithstanding this point in his favour, was racked with doubts and fears as to the issue of the campaign. His absolute ignorance of the numbers and position of the Vandal army, his want of all information as to the best points for landing, or the condition of the roads, were most unsatisfactory to a general who, with all his splendid personal courage, looked upon war as a science and knew what the postulates of that science demanded. And then, he knew not whether he should be allowed to join battle with the Vandals by land. They had a powerful fleet and might attack him, as they had attacked Basiliscus,

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 533. by sea. Ominous murmurs were being uttered by the disheartened soldiery—and some of them reached his ears—that, though they would do their duty in an engagement on land and would show themselves brave men there, if they were attacked at sea by the ships of the enemy they would at once seek safety in flight.

Procopius sent to Syracuse. Oppressed by these cares, Belisarius sought the quarters of his counsellor Procopius. He wished that the secretary should visit the city of Syracuse, ostensibly in order to buy stores for the army, but really to obtain all possible information as to the doings of the Vandals, the near neighbours of Sicily. Procopius gladly accepted the mission, and after some days presented himself at the general's quarters at Caucana[1], the meeting-place of the troops on the south coast of the island, about fifty miles from Syracuse. The Secretary's face showed that he brought good tidings, and he had a living voucher for their truth. Almost immediately on his arrival at Syracuse he had met with a person who had been a friend of his from childhood, but who, on account of his interest in some shipping property, had quitted the East and was now settled in the Sicilian capital. When Procopius cautiously propounded his questions about Carthage, his friend replied, 'I have the very man who can give you the needed information. This servant of mine returned but three days ago from Carthage: ask him.' The servant declared that no preparations worth speaking of were being made by the Vandals to meet the Byzantine armament. They did not even know

[1] I see no sufficient reason for Lord Mahon's proposal to read Catana, in defiance of all MS. authority, instead of Caucana.

that it had left Constantinople. Gelimer was at an inland place called Hermione, a considerable distance from Carthage. And, most important of all, by a piece of rare good-fortune for the Romans, all the best Vandal soldiers had sailed away to Sardinia, under the command of Tzazo, Gelimer's brother, to put down the rebellion of one Godas, a Goth who had been sent thither by the Vandal King to collect tribute, but who was now trying to open communications with the Emperor on his own account, and affected the airs of an independent sovereign.

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533. Vandal expedition to Sardinia under Gelimer's brother Tzazo.

All this was better news than Procopius had dared to hope for. That Belisarius might be satisfied of its truth, he took his friend's slave down with him to the port, which was still called 'the Harbour of Arethusa,' continued an eager conversation with the man till they were on board ship, and then gave a sign to the captain to weigh anchor and leave the harbour with all speed. The owner of the kidnapped slave, Procopius's friend from childhood, stood on the shore bewildered and inclined towards anger: but his old schoolfellow shouted out to him that he must not be grieved, for that it was absolutely necessary that the man should be brought into the general's presence; but after he had shown the Roman army the way to Carthage he should soon be sent back to Syracuse bringing a large reward[1].

Procopius kidnaps his Sicilian friend's slave.

Cheered by the tidings brought by this messenger Belisarius ordered the mariners to hoist sail. They passed the islands of Malta and Gozo, and the next

Voyage to Africa.

[1] Dahn suggests that possibly the kidnapping was only apparent, and that the slave was really a consenting party to his abduction (Prokopius, 23).

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 533. day, a brisk east wind having sprung up, they reached the coast of Africa. It was now about the beginning of September, and nearly three months since they had sailed forth from the harbour of Constantinople.

The fleet reaches Caputvada. The point of the African coast which the fleet had made was called Caputvada[1], and was about 130 miles in a straight line south by east of Carthage. The coast of Africa here runs nearly due north and south, and the corner where it turns from its usual east and west direction, the very conspicuous promontory of Cape Bon[2] (called by the Greeks and Romans Hermaeum), lies 130 miles due north of Caputvada, and about thirty east of Carthage.

Council of war. Archelaus tries to dissuade Belisarius from landing. Before landing, Belisarius called a council of war on board his ship. The Patrician Archelaus, his civil Assessor and Paymaster-General, was earnest in his advice that they should not land there, but sail round to the great pool[3] close to the harbour of Carthage, where there would be shelter and ample berthing-room for all the ships, and where they would be quite close to the scene of operations. There was much to be said on behalf of this view, and it was well said by Archelaus, who, as master of the commissariat department, especially insisted on the difficulties that would beset the provisioning of the troops upon a land-march if the fleet, their base of supply, should be dashed to pieces against the Libyan coast. Belisarius, however, who felt that he could trust his troops by land and could not trust them by sea, refused to give the Vandals another chance of bringing on a naval

[1] Translated by Procopius Κεφαλὴ βράχους, 'Shoal-promontory;' now called Ras Kapoodia.

[2] Or Ras Addar.

[3] Stagnum.

engagement, and gave his decisive voice in favour of disembarking at Caputvada and proceeding from thence to Carthage by land. The soldiers were ordered at once to fortify the position at Caputvada with the usual fosse and vallum of a Roman camp [1]. In doing so they discovered a copious spring of excellent water, welcome for its own sake, but doubly welcome because it was looked upon as something supernatural and a token of Divine favour on the enterprise.

533. Disembarkation.

As it proved, this *fossatum* or entrenched camp was not needed by the Romans. The extraordinary apathy, or panic, or ever-confidence of the Vandals still left the imperial army free from attack. The neighbouring city of Syllectum, at the persuasion of the Catholic bishop and the leading citizens—men doubtless of Roman nationality—gladly opened her gates to the Emperor's generals. An even more important defection was that of the Vandal Postmaster of the Province [2], who placed all the post-horses of his district at the general's disposal. One of the King's messengers (*veredarii*) was captured, and Belisarius sought to make use of him to circulate Justinian's proclamation, which, in the usual style of such documents, stated that the invading army came, not to make war on the people of the land, but only on the

Syllectum opens its gates.

Defection of the Vandal postmaster.

[1] Procopius' words will be interesting to all students of Roman fortifications: *Βελισαρίος ἐκέλευε τήν τε τάφρον ὀρύσσειν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα περιβαλέσθαι. . . . Αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἥ τε τάφρος ὀρώρυκτο καὶ τὸ χαρακώμα ξυντετέλεστο, καὶ οἱ σκολόπες κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ξυνεπεπήχατο.* Here we have the fosse, the vallum, and the palisading, exactly the Pfahl-graben of the Germans.

[2] *Ὁ τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου ἐπιμελόμενος*: Procurator (?) Publici Cursus.

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 533. tyrant and usurper Gelimer. The *veredarius* handed copies of the proclamation to some of his friends, but not much came of his proceedings. Sovereigns and statesmen generally overrate the importance of such manifestoes.

Order of march of the imperial army.

For eleven days[1] Belisarius and his army moved steadily northwards, covering a distance of about thirteen miles a day. A force of 300 men under the command of his steward[2], John the Armenian, preceded the main body of the army at a distance of about three miles. The Huns rode at the same distance to the left. Thus, if danger threatened from either quarter, the general was sure to have early notice of it. His right wing was of course sufficiently protected by the sea, where his ships slowly accompanied the march of the land forces. Belisarius sternly repressed the slightest disposition on the part of his soldiers to plunder, and insisted on every article of food required being punctually paid for. He was rewarded for this exercise of discipline by the hearty good-will of the provincials, who evidently gave no information of his movements to the enemy. The soldiers, too, had their reward for their painful self-denial when, about sixty miles from Carthage, they

[1] The Itinerarium makes the distance from Tusdrus (which is about as far off as Caputvada) to Carthage, 157 Roman miles. Procopius tells us that Belisarius marched 80 stadia a day. The stadium is generally considered equivalent to the eighth of a Roman mile, but we know from Procopius (De Bello Gotthico, i. 11) that 113 of his stadia = 19 Roman miles, or, roughly, six of his stadia = one mile. This would give about 13½ Roman miles for each day's march; and eleven of these marches would bring the army to Decimum, ten miles from Carthage.

[2] Called at this time *Optio*: ὃς οἱ ἐπεμελεῖτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης· ὀπτίωνα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

reached the 'Paradise' which surrounded the beautiful palace of the Vandal kings at Grassé. Here were springing fountains, a great depth of shade, and fruit-trees in overpowering abundance. Into these lovely gardens poured the dusty, travel-worn Byzantines, and found them indeed a Paradise. Each soldier made himself a little hut under the boughs of some fruit-tree and ate his fill of its luscious produce: yet, strange to say, when the bugle sounded and the army had to leave the too brief delights of Grassé, it seemed as if there was still the same wealth of fruit upon the trees that hung there when the first soldier entered.

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The Paradise of the Vandal kings at Grassé.

Now at length, on the 13th of September[1], four days after leaving Grassé, when the army reached Ad Decimum, came the shock of grim war to interrupt this pleasant promenade through the enemy's land. When Gelimer heard the tidings of the enemy's landing, his first step was to send orders to Carthage that Hilderic and his surviving relatives and friends should be put to death: his next, to desire his brother Ammatas, who commanded at Carthage, to arm all the Vandal soldiers and prepare for a combined attack on the invaders. The place chosen for this combined attack was a point ten miles from Carthage (Ad Decimum), where the road went between steep hills, and it seemed possible to catch the enemy as in a trap. Three divisions were to co-operate in the

Gelimer's movements.

Death of Hilderic.

[1] We get this date from the statement of Procopius (De Bell. Vand. i. 21) that Ammatas marched out of Carthage on the eve of St. Cyprian's day. This festival, which now falls on the 16th of September, according to the old ecclesiastical calendar fell on the 14th. Papencordt (p. 152, n. 1) is my authority for this statement.

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533. Plan of the Vandals' triple attack.

movement. While Ammatas, sallying forth from Carthage, attacked the Roman van, King Gelimer himself with the main body of the army was to fall upon their rear, and at the same hour his nephew Gibamund, moving over the hills from the west, was to fall upon their left flank.

Battle of Ad Decimum, 13 Sept. 533.

The plan was skilfully conceived, and Procopius himself expresses his astonishment that the Roman host should have escaped destruction. Some part of the credit of their deliverance was due to the arrangements made by Belisarius for obtaining early information of what was going on in front of him and on his left flank, but more to the Chance or Fate or Providence (Procopius scarcely knows which to style it) that caused Ammatas to issue too early from Carthage and deliver his attack too soon [1]. He came about noonday, and dashed impetuously, with only a few of his followers, against the Roman vanguard,

Death of Ammatas.

led by John the Armenian. Ammatas slew with his own hand twelve of the bravest of the imperial soldiers, but he then fell mortally wounded, and his death changed the whole fortune of the day. His men fled, and John's pursuing soldiers wrought grievous havoc among the Vandals issuing from Car-

[1] How was it possible, before the invention of watches, to reckon with any certainty on concerted operations upon the battle-field? The clepsydra and other such clumsy contrivances for the measurement of time would surely be useless here. No doubt a practised eye would learn the time with sufficient accuracy from the position of the sun in the heavens when the sky was clear. But how, if it was overcast? Apparently the inevitable effect of storms and mist must have been hopelessly to bewilder the leaders of an army, as to their position in time as well as in space.

thage, who, in no regular order, were scattered along the road from the city to the battle-field. Procopius says that lookers-on conjectured that 20,000 Vandals were thus slain, but the estimate was probably an exaggerated one.

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Equally unsuccessful was Gibamund's attack on the left flank of the Roman army. According to the arrangement of Belisarius above described, the troops that he fell in with were the covering squadron of Huns. The Vandals had often heard of the headlong bravery of these old enemies of the Gothic nations, but had not before met them in battle. Now, a Hun belonging to a noble family, which had by long usage a prescriptive right to draw first blood in every battle, rode alone close up to the Vandal ranks. These, surprised and terrified, did not assail the solitary champion, who returned to his comrades, shouting loudly that God had given these aliens to them as food for their swords. The Hunnish squadron advanced, and the Vandal detachment, two thousand men in number, fled panic-stricken from the field.

Defeat of Gibamund.

Very different at first was the fortune of the main body of their army led by Gelimer himself. Procopius's description of this part of the action is somewhat confused; but it seems clear that the hilly nature of the ground hid the movements of Belisarius and Gelimer from one another. The Roman general had inadvertently drawn out his line too wide; and the Vandal King, equally by accident, slipped in between Belisarius and the centre of his army. He was thus enabled to make a most dangerous flank attack on the Roman centre, and in fact to gain the victory, if he had known how to keep it. If after his

Temporary success of Gelimer.

533. defeat of the infantry he had moved to the left against the small body of calvary that surrounded Belisarius, he might easily have overwhelmed them. If he had pushed forward he would have annihilated John's forces still scattered in all the disorder of pursuit, and saved Carthage. He did neither. As he was leisurely descending a hill, his possession of which had given him the victory over the Roman centre, he came upon the dead body of Ammatas, still unburied and gashed with honourable wounds. Grief at this sight drove every thought of battle from the mind of Gelimer. He burst out into loud bewailings, and would not stir from the place till he had given his brother befitting burial. Meanwhile Belisarius was rallying his fugitive soldiers; was learning the true story of the vanguard's encounter with Ammatas; put heart into his beaten army, and before nightfall had got together a large body of men with whom he dashed at full speed against the unprepared and unmarshalled Vandals. Now at length the battle was really won. Gelimer's soldiers fled westwards from the field in wild disorder, and the Romans of all three divisions encamped that night among the hills of Ad Decimum, victorious.

Gelimer loses the day.

Gelimer's ill-timed display of sorrow for his brother was attributed by Procopius to a Heaven-sent infatuation. A modern historian is probably more disposed to turn it into ridicule. But after all, there is a touch of Northern chivalry and tenderness even in the absurdity of the proceeding. Hardly would any rhetoric-loving Greek or materialistic Roman have been tempted to lose a battle in order to take the last farewell fittingly of the relics of a brother.

On the next day Antonina and the rearguard of the troops came up, and the whole army moved on over the ten miles which separated them from Carthage, and encamped at nightfall at the gates of the capital. The whole city gave itself up to merriment: lights were lit in every chamber, and the night shone like the day. The Vandals, hopelessly outnumbered and recognising that the sceptre had departed from their nation, clustered as timid suppliants round the altars; but Belisarius sent orders into the city that the lives of all of that people who peaceably submitted themselves were to be spared. Meanwhile, still fearing some stratagem of the enemy, and doubtful also of the self-restraint of his soldiers, he refused for that night to enter the illuminated city. Next day, having satisfied himself that the enemy had indeed vanished, and having harangued his soldiers on the duty of scrupulously respecting the lives and property of the Carthaginian citizens, fellow-subjects with themselves of the Roman Emperor, and men whom they had come to deliver from the degrading yoke of the barbarian, he at length marched into the city, where he was received with shouts of welcome by the inhabitants. The hundred years of Vandal domination were at an end. The Emperor, Senate, and People of Rome were again supreme in the great colony which Caius Gracchus had founded on the ruins of her mighty antagonist. And yet, strange contradiction, suggestive of future labours and dangers for the great commander, at that very time Rome herself, her Senate and her People, obeyed the orders of the Gothic princess, Amalasuntha.

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533. March to Carthage, 14 Sept. 533.

Carthage entered, 15 Sept. 533.

The exhortations of Belisarius to his troops bore memorable fruit. Never did soldiers march into

BOOK IV. CH. 15. a conquered town in more friendly guise. Although it was notorious that generally even a little handful

533. Orderly conduct of the troops. of imperial soldiers marching into one of the cities of the Empire would fill the air with their boisterous clamour, and would terrify the peaceful inhabitants with their military braggadocio, now the whole army entered in perfect order and without an unnecessary sound. No threats were heard, no deed of insolence was done. The secretaries of the army, gliding about from rank to rank, distributed to each man his billet, and he departed tranquilly to his appointed lodging. In the workshops, the handicraftsmen plied their accustomed tasks; in the agora, the buyer and the seller bargained as of old. No one would have dreamed from the appearance of the city that a mighty revolution had that very day been consummated in the midst thereof.

Escape of the Byzantine merchants. On the morning of this eventful day many Byzantine merchants whom Gelimer in his rage had arrested, and whom he meant to have put to death on the very day of the battle of Ad Decimum, were cowering in a dark dungeon in the King's palace, expecting every moment to be ordered forth to execution. The gaoler entered and asked them what price they were willing to pay for their safety. 'My whole fortune,' each one gladly answered. 'You may keep your money,' said he. 'I ask for nothing but that you should help me if I too should be in danger of my life.' With that he removed a plank from before their prison window. With blinking eyes they looked forth to the blinding sky over the blue Mediterranean, and saw the imperial fleet drawing near to the city of their captivity. The chain which had stretched across the harbour was

broken by the citizens' own hands, and they were crowding down to the port to welcome their deliverers[1]. At that sight the prisoners knew that their chains also were broken. The gaoler opened the prison doors and went down into the streets in their company.

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Belisarius in Gelimer's palace.

When noon was come, Belisarius, who had already entered the palace and seated himself on the throne of Gelimer, commanded that the mid-day meal should be served to him and to his officers in the Delphic chamber, the great banqueting-hall of the palace. Among the generals and officers sat the secretary Procopius, and mused on the instability of Fortune, as he found himself and his comrades waited upon by the royal pages, and eating, from the gold and silver plate of the Vandal, the very same luxurious meats and drinking the same costly wines which had been prepared for the repast of Gelimer himself.

The cathedral claimed by the Catholics.

A similar example of sowing without reaping was furnished by the cathedral church of Carthage, named after her great martyred bishop, St. Cyprian. Many a time, says Procopius, during the stress of the Vandal persecution, had the saint appeared in visions to his disciples and told them that they need not distress themselves, since he himself in time would avenge their wrongs. On the eve of his great yearly festival, which, as it chanced, was the very day that Ammatas rode forth from Carthage to fall among the hills of Ad Decimum, the Arian priests, who had of course the sole right to minister in the cathedral, made great preparations, sweeping out the church, making ready

[1] In point of fact the fleet did not enter the harbour, but for nautical reasons took up their position in the *Stagnum* on the south-west of it.

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the lights, bringing their costliest treasures out of the sacristy. Then came the decisive victory, by which African Arianism was for ever overthrown. The orthodox Christians flocked to the church, lighted the lamps, displayed the treasures, and rejoiced that they had at length received the long-delayed fulfilment of the promise of St. Cyprian.

Gelimer's camp at Bulla Regia.

Gelimer, after the defeat of Ad Decimum, formed a camp at Bulla Regia, in the province of Numidia, and about a hundred miles west of Carthage. Here were collected the remains of the Vandal army, a still formidable host, and here were stored the vast treasures of the kingdom, those treasures which ninety-four years of sovereignty in the rich and fertile province of Africa had enabled the family of Gaiseric to accumulate.

Intercepted letter from Tzazo.

While he was in this camp, meditating how best to recover possession of his capital, a letter was despatched from his brother Tzazo, the commander of the expedition to Sardinia. Tzazo, who had as yet heard nothing of the disasters of his people, wrote in a cheerful tone, announcing the easy victory which he had gained over the rebels, and prognosticating that even so would all the other enemies of the Vandals fall before them. By the irony of Fate, the messengers brought this letter to Carthage and had to deliver it to the hands of Belisarius, who read it and dismissed them unharmed.

Gelimer summons him from Sardinia.

Meanwhile Gelimer, who had perhaps gained information of the contents of the letter, wrote to his brother. 'Not Godas, but some cruel decree of destiny wrenched Sardinia from us. While you, with all our bravest, have been recovering that island, Justinian has been making himself master of Africa.

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With few men did Belisarius come against us, but all the ancient valour of the Vandals seemed to have departed, and with it all our old good-fortune. They turned faint-hearted when they saw Ammatas and Gibamund slain, and fleeing, left horses and ships and the province of Africa, and, worst of all, Carthage itself, a prey to our enemies. Here then we sit encamped in the plain of Bulla. Our only hope is in you. Leave Sardinia to take care of itself, and come and help us. It will be at least some comfort in our calamities to feel that we are bearing them together.'

The army of Sardinia returns.

When Tzazo and his Vandals received these grievous tidings in Sardinia, they broke forth into lamentations, all the more bitter because they had to be repressed whenever any of the subject islanders were near. Then, with all speed, they set sail, reached the point of the African coast where the Numidian and Mauritanian frontiers joined, and marched on foot to the plain of Bulla, where they met the rest of the army.

Pathetic meeting of the two brothers.

The two brothers, Gelimer and Tzazo, fell on one another's necks and remained for long locked in a silent embrace, neither of them able to speak for tears, but clasping one another's hands. Their followers did the same, and for a space no word was uttered. Neither the victory in Sardinia nor the defeat at Ad Decimum was spoken of by either host. The lonely and desolate spot where they met, and which was all that they could now call home, told with sad and sufficient emphasis all the tale of the last fatal month[1].

[1] Ἱκανὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ χῶρος τεκμηριῶσαι τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐγίνετο. Compare Milton:—

> 'Though the event was dire
> As this place testifies and this dire change
> Hateful to utter.'

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Belisarius repairs the fortifications of Carthage.

After the battle of Ad Decimum active hostilities on both sides had ceased for a time. Belisarius had been busily engaged in the superintendence of a great number of workmen whom he had engaged to repair the numerous breaches caused by time and neglect in the walls of Carthage, to dig a fosse around it, and plant stakes upon the vallum formed of the earth thrown up out of the fosse. Gelimer had attempted nothing beyond a guerrilla war, conducted by some of the African peasants, with whom he was personally popular, and stimulated by a bounty for the head of every Roman brought into his camp.

Gelimer marches to the neighbourhood of Carthage.

Now that, by his junction with Tzazo, he found himself at the head of forces considerably outnumbering the Roman army[1], Gelimer took a bolder line; marched to Carthage; broke down the aqueduct, an exceedingly fine one, which supplied the city; and encamped at Tricamaron, a place about twenty miles distant from the capital, from whence he could block more than one of the roads leading thither. The secret negotiations which he set on foot with the Arians in Carthage and in the army of Belisarius were discovered by the general, who at once hung Laurus the chief traitor, on a hill overlooking the city. With the fierce and ungovernable Huns, who had listened to Gelimer's proposals, it was not possible to take such severe measures. In the battle which all men knew to be now impending they had determined to take no active part till Fortune should have declared herself, and then to join the victorious side.

[1] 'Ten times larger,' he says in his speech before the battle of Tricamaron; but this is probably an exaggeration either on his part or on that of Procopius.

At length, about the middle of December, Belisarius marched forth from Carthage to fight the battle of Tricamaron. Gelimer, who had placed the Vandal women and children in the middle of his camp, in order that their cries might stimulate their husbands and fathers to a desperate defence, harangued his troops, adjuring them to choose death rather than defeat, which involved slavery and the loss of all that made life delightful both for themselves and for these dear ones. Tzazo added a few words, specially addressed to the army of Sardinia, exhorting them, who had yet suffered no defeat, to prove themselves the deliverers of the Vandal name. The battle began stubbornly. Twice was the desperate charge of the Roman cavalry, under John the Armenian, beaten back; and the third charge, though more successful, led to a fierce hand-to-hand encounter, in which for some time neither side could get the better of its antagonists. But then, in the crisis of the battle, Tzazo fell. Gelimer, again unmanned by a brother's death, forgot his own valour-breathing words and hurried swiftly from the field. The Huns now struck in on the side of the Romans. The rout of the Vandals was complete, and they fled headlong from the field, leaving camp, treasure, children and wives, all at the mercy of the enemy.

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533. Battle of Tricamaron, 15 (?) Dec. 553.

Flight of Gelimer.

The utter demoralisation which spread throughout the conquering army at the sight of this splendid prize would have ensured their overthrow, had Gelimer and a few faithful followers hovered near to take advantage of it. Intent on stripping off the golden armour of the Vandal officers, enraptured at finding themselves the possessors of money, of jewels, of comely

Demoralisation of the Roman army.

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and noble-looking slaves, the host of barbarians who bore the name of a Roman army abandoned all thought of military obedience, forgot even the commonest maxims of prudence in the presence of a beaten foe, and were intent upon one only aim, to convey themselves and their spoil back within the walls of the city as soon as possible. Murder went as ever hand in hand with lust and greed. Not one of the Vandal warriors who was captured was admitted to quarter.

Belisarius restores discipline.

When day dawned, Belisarius, standing on a neighbouring hill to survey the scene, succeeded by his shouted adjurations in restoring some degree of order, first among the soldiers of his own household, and then, through their means, in the rest of the army. So were all the soldiers with their captives and spoils at length safely marched back to Carthage. The numerous Vandal suppliants in the churches of the district were admitted to quarter, and preparations were made for shipping off the greater number of them as prisoners to Constantinople. Experienced officers were sent to Sardinia, to Corsica, to the Balearic Isles, to Ceuta and other Mauritanian towns, and easily brought all these recent possessions of the Vandals into the obedience of the Emperor. Only at Sicilian Lilybæum (now Marsala) were they unsuccessful. Here the Goths, though friendly to the Romans, entirely refused to recognise that conquest gave Justinian any right to claim Amalafrida's dowry, and declined to surrender the city.

The Vandal possessions in the Mediterranean secured.

Affair of Lilybæum.

Pursuit of Gelimer.

When Gelimer escaped from the field of Tricamaron, Belisarius ordered John the Armenian to follow after him night and day, and not to rest till he had taken him prisoner. For five days did this pursuit

continue, and on the following day it would probably have been successful but for a strange misadventure. There was among John's soldiers a barbarian named Uliaris, a brave soldier, but flighty, impetuous, and a drunkard. On the morning of the sixth day, at sunrise, Uliaris, who was already intoxicated, saw a bird sitting on a tree and tried to shoot it. He aimed so clumsily that his arrow, missing the bird, pierced his general from behind in the nape of his neck. John languished a few hours in great pain and then expired, desiring that the offence of his unwilling murderer might be forgiven. Belisarius, who was at once sent for, wept bitterly at the grave of his friend, whose character and achievements had seemed to mark him out for a high career; and fulfilled his dying wishes by pardoning Uliaris.

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Death of John the Armenian.

But meanwhile the hard-pressed Gelimer had succeeded in escaping from his pursuers to a steep mountain called Pappua, on the very verge of the Numidian province. Here he with his nephews and cousins, the remnant of the proud family of Gaiseric, dwelt for three months, dependent on the hospitality and loyalty of the half-savage Moors who inhabited this district. A terrible change it was for the dainty Vandals, the most luxurious of all the races that overran the Roman Empire, to have to live cooped up in the fetid huts of these sons of the desert. The Vandal was accustomed to sumptuous meals, for which earth and sea were ransacked to supply new delicacies. The Moor did not even bake his bread, but subsisted upon uncooked flour. The Vandal dressed in silken robes, wore golden ornaments, and daily indulged in all the luxury of the Roman bath. The squalid Moor,

Gelimer at Pappua.

Contrast between the habits of the Vandals and the Moors.

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 534. swarming with vermin, wore both in winter and summer the same rough tunic and heavy cloak; he never washed himself, and his only couch was the floor of his hut, upon which, it is true, the wealthy Mauritanian spread a sheep-skin before he laid him down to rest. In the delights of the chase, the theatre, and the hippodrome had passed the pleasure-tinted days of the Vandal lords of Africa. Now, instead of this ceaseless round of pleasure, there was only the dull and sordid monotony of a Moorish hamlet on a bleak mountain[1].

Pharas the Herulian exhorts Gelimer to surrender.

After the death of John, Pharas the Herulian with a band of hardy followers had been told off for the pursuit of Gelimer, and had followed him as far as the foot of the mountain. His attempt to carry the position by storm had failed. The Moors were still faithful to the exile, and the steep cliffs could not be climbed without their consent. Pharas therefore was obliged to turn his siege into a blockade; and during the three winter months at the beginning of 534 he carefully watched the mountain, suffering none to approach and none to leave it. At length, knowing what hardships the Vandal King must be enduring, he wrote him a skilful and friendly letter, asking him why, for the sake of the mere name of freedom, he persisted in depriving himself of all that made life worth living. He concluded thus: 'Justinian, I have heard, is willing to promote you to great honour, to confer upon you the rank of a Patrician, and to

[1] Procopius, De Bello Vandalico, ii. 6. The hints here given, not only as to the luxury but the immorality of the Vandals, show the change for the worse which a century of domination in Africa had wrought in them. Compare vol. i. p. 932.

give you houses and lands. Surely to be fellow-servant with Belisarius of so mighty an Emperor is better than to be playing the king in Pappua, really serving the caprices of a few squalid Moors, and that in the midst of hunger and every kind of hardship not only for yourself but for your unhappy kindred.'

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Gelimer's reply.

Gelimer's answer was characteristic. 'I thank you for your counsel, but I will not be the slave of a man who has attacked me without cause and upon whom I yet hope to wreak a terrible revenge. He has brought me, who had done him no wrong, to this depth of ruin, by sending Belisarius against me, I know not whence. But let him beware. Some change which he will not like may be impending over him also. I can write no more: my calamities take from me the power of thought. But be gracious to me, dear Pharas, and send me a lyre, and one loaf of bread and a sponge.'

His three requests.

The end of this singular letter was a hopeless puzzle to the Herulian general, till the messenger who brought it explained that Gelimer wished once more to experience the taste of baked bread, which he had not eaten for many weeks, that one of his eyes was inflamed owing to his inability to wash it, and that having composed an ode on his misfortunes he wished to hear how it sounded on the lyre.

Gelimer decides to surrender.

After all, a trifling incident broke down the stubborn resolution of Gelimer. A Moorish woman had scraped together a little flour, kneaded it into dough, and put it on the coals to bake. Two boys, one of them her son and the other a Vandal prince, nephew of Gelimer, looked at the process of cooking with

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 534. hungry eyes, and each determined to possess himself of the food. The Vandal was first to snatch it from the fire and thrust it, burning hot and gritty with ashes, into his mouth. At that the Moor caught him by the hair of his head, slapped him on the cheek, pulled the half-eaten morsel out of his mouth, and thrust it into his own. Gelimer, who had been watching the whole scene from beginning to end, was so touched by the thought of the misery which his obstinacy was bringing upon all belonging to him, that he wrote to Pharas, retracting his former refusal, and offering to surrender if he could be assured that the terms mentioned in the previous letter were still open to him.

The terms settled. Pharas sent the whole of the correspondence to Belisarius, who received it with great delight, and sent a general of *foederati* named Cyprian to swear that the terms of surrender named by Pharas should be kept. Gelimer came down from his hill; the mutual promises were exchanged, and in a few days the Vandal King was introduced into the presence of his captor at a suburb of Carthage named Aclae.

Belisarius and Gelimer meet, March 534. When Gelimer met Belisarius, to the surprise of all the bystanders, he burst into a loud peal of laughter. Some thought that the sudden reverse in his fortunes, the hardships, and the insufficient food of the last few months had touched his brain; and to a matter-of-fact historian this will perhaps still seem the most probable reason for his conduct. Procopius, however, assigns a more subtle cause. The Vandal King, suddenly, at the end of a long and prosperous life, cast down from the height of human happiness, perceived that all the prizes for which men contend here so earnestly are

worthless. They are making all this coil about absolute nothingness, and whatever happens to them here is really worthy only to be laughed at. The story, as told by Procopius, and some other passages in the life of Gelimer, suggest that the character of the Vandal King might be so studied as to throw some light on that most enticing yet most difficult problem, Shakespeare's conception of the character of Hamlet.

Imputations against the loyalty of Belisarius.

Meanwhile the conqueror—as well as the conquered—was feeling some of

'The stings and arrows of outrageous Fortune.'

Some of his subordinates, envious of his glory, sent secret messages to the Emperor that Belisarius was aiming at the diadem. No doubt his having seated himself on the throne of Gelimer on that day when he entered the palace of the Vandal King lent some probability to the utterly baseless charge. The general, by good fortune, obtained a duplicate of the letter written by his enemies: and thus, when a message came back from Justinian, 'The Vandal captives are to be sent to Constantinople: choose whether you will accompany them or remain at Carthage,' he knew what answer was desired. To return was by his own act to dispel the accusation of disloyalty: to stay would have been at once to take up the position which his enemies would fain assign to him of a pretender to the crown. He wisely and as a good citizen chose the former course.

Triumph of Belisarius.

On his return to the capital, Belisarius was rewarded for his splendid services to the Senate and People of Rome by the honours of a triumph, which, says Procopius, had for near six hundred years never been

BOOK IV. CH. 15. 534. enjoyed by any but an Emperor. Even now he had not quite the full honours of an ancient Roman triumph. He walked from his palace, whereas a Scipio or a Fabius would have ridden in his chariot. But before him walked the throng of Vandal captives, ending with Gelimer and his kinsmen, all that remained of the mighty Asding name. When the Byzantine populace saw those strong and stately forms, they marvelled the more at the skill of the general who had brought all their power down into the dust. Gelimer himself, as he passed through the streets, and when he came into the Hippodrome and saw Justinian sitting on his throne and the ranks and orders of the Roman people standing on either side of him, neither laughed nor wept, but simply repeated again and again the words of the kingly Hebrew preacher, 'Vanity of vanities: all is vanity.' When he reached the throne of Justinian, the attendants took off the purple robe which floated from his shoulders and compelled him to fall prostrate before the peasant's son who bore the great name of Augustus. It may have been some mitigation of his abasement that his conqueror, the triumphant Belisarius, grovelled with him at Justinian's feet. When the triumph was ended, Gelimer was admitted probably to a private audience of the Emperor. The rank of Patrician which had been promised him could only be his on his renouncing the Arian heresy, and this he steadily refused to do. He received, however, large estates in the Galatian province, and lived there in peace with his exiled kinsfolk. The children and grandchildren of Hilderic, who had the blood of Valentinian and Theodosius in their veins, and who also

Treatment of Gelimer, and of the family of Hilderic.

no doubt professed the Catholic faith, were especially welcomed and honoured by Justinian and Theodora, received large sums of money, and seem to have been invited to remain at the Byzantine Court.

Vessels from the Temple at Jerusalem.

Besides the other magnificent spoils which were exhibited at this triumph, the thrones and sceptres, the costly raiment, the pearls and golden drinking-cups, many of which had formed part of Gaiseric's spoil of Rome eighty years before, there were also carried in the procession the vessels of the Temple at Jerusalem which had once adorned the triumph of Titus. But, as has been already described[1], a Jew who was acquainted with a friend of the Emperor said: 'If those vessels are brought into the Palace they will cause the ruin of this Empire. They have already brought the Vandal to Rome, and Belisarius to Carthage: nor will Constantinople long wait for her conqueror if they remain here.' The superstitious side of Justinian's nature was affected by this suggestion, and he sent the sacred vessels away to Jerusalem to be stored up in one of the Christian churches.

Consulship of Belisarius, 535.

The next year, when Belisarius entered upon his consulship, he had a kind of second triumph, which was in some respects more like the antique ceremony. He was borne on the shoulders of the captives: then he rode in his triumphal car and scattered gifts to the crowd from out of the Vandal spoils. Silver vessels and golden girdles and money from the great Vandal hoard were scattered by the new Consul among that Byzantine populace which claimed the title of the Roman People.

The fall of the Vandal monarchy was an event full of meaning for the future history of Africa. There can

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 286–7.

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Effects and causes of the fall of the Vandal kingdom.

be little doubt that in destroying it Justinian was unconsciously removing the most powerful barrier which might in the next century have arrested the progress of Mohammedanism: and thus, in the secular contest between the Aryan and Semitic peoples, the fall of the throne of Gaiseric was a heavy blow to the cause of Europe and a great gain to the spirit of Asia.

The reasons which produced this overthrow cannot here be enumerated at length. It is clear, however, that in the Vandal monarchy there was less approach towards amalgamation between the Teuton invaders and the Roman provincials than in any of the other kingdoms founded by the Northern invaders. The arrogance of Gaiseric and his nobles and the ferocity of their persecution of the Catholics had opened a chasm between the two nations, which could perhaps never have been bridged over. Then upon this state of affairs supervened the weakening of the fibre of the conquering race and its loss of martial prowess, through the progress of luxury and through the increase of something which was perhaps not wholly undeserving of the name of culture. The quarrel with the Ostrogoths deprived the Vandals of their natural allies, and gave to Belisarius the best possible base for his invasion of Africa. The character of Gelimer, impulsive, sentimental, unstable, additionally weighted the scale against his subjects. And finally, that which some would be disposed to call mere accident, the invasion of Sardinia, the absence of storms while the Roman fleet was voyaging along the coast, the failure of the concerted operations at Ad Decimum, all combined to turn the doubtful enterprise of Justinian and his general into an assured and splendid victory.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ERRORS OF AMALASUNTHA.

Authorities.

Sources :—

PROCOPIUS, de Bello Gotthico, i. 2–4; JORDANES, de Rebus Geticis, cap. 59; and CASSIODORUS, Variarum lib. x. The last-mentioned authority, like a severely edited Blue-book, tells us as little as possible of the real course of events. Even the few meagre sentences of Jordanes give more information as to the accession of Theodahad and the death of Amalasuntha than the sixteen folio pages of the letters of Cassiodorus.

Connection between the Vandal and the Gothic wars of Justinian.

THE imperial conquest of Africa foreboded at no very distant date trouble for the Gothic lords of Italy. Truly had John of Cappadocia advised the Emperor that he could not expect long to retain the lands which owned Carthage as their capital while the intervening lands of Italy and Sicily were in alien, possibly hostile, hands. Already the grievance of the unsurrendered fortress of Lilybaeum was an indication of the coming estrangement between the hitherto friendly monarchies; a hint to any reflecting Gothic statesman that his nation had not done wisely in so immensely facilitating the imperial triumph over its old Vandal ally.

Ambassadors were speedily sent by Justinian to

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Embassy from Justinian to Amalasuntha.

bring his grievances—which related not to Lilybaeum alone—before the Court of Ravenna: but these ambassadors were also charged with private messages to the Ostrogothic princess more important than their formal demand for the surrender of the Sicilian fortress. These private messages related to the increasingly strained relations between Amalasuntha and her own subjects, relations which had already caused her, a Gothic ruler, to utter strange cries for help to the Roman Emperor.

Difficulties of Amalasuntha's position.

The daughter of Theodoric was a woman endowed with many splendid gifts, but she was placed in a difficult, one is inclined to say in a hopelessly false, position, and the very splendour of her gifts only made her failure to fill that position more notorious. The mere fact that she was a woman made it almost impossible that she should command the hearty loyalty of her Gothic subjects. That which John Knox inveighed against as 'the monstrous regiment of a woman,' though common among the Celtic nationalities [1], was almost unknown to the Teutons. Tacitus, near the close of the 'Germania,' speaks of the remote tribe of the Sitones as differing from other German races in that they were governed by a woman: 'so far had they degenerated not only from liberty but even from slavery [2].' That peculiar development of the Teutonic spirit of honour to women which we call chivalry, and which was to make the stalwart

[1] The cases of Cartismandua and Boadicea in Britain seem to justify this assertion.

[2] 'Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur. In tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant' (Germania, xlv).

knights of the Middle Ages proud to serve under a Lady Paramount, and the counsellors of Elizabeth support her throne with an enthusiastic loyalty of devotion such as few of the kings her predecessors had experienced,—all this was yet in the far future. For the present the Gothic warriors felt themselves distinctly degraded by having to obey the commands of a woman, though nominally only a Regent, and though she was the mother of their King.

Her intellectual accomplishments.

It probably availed little against this disparaging view of a woman ruler, that she was possessed of great intellectual accomplishments, that she could speak Latin and Greek as fluently as the ambassadors who came to discourse with her in either tongue, and yet had not lost the full use of the rich Gothic vocabulary of her ancestors[1]. The sensibility to the culture of the vanquished lords of Italy, which Amalasuntha showed in her friendships, in her speech, in her daily occupations, was all matter for distrust and suspicion to those of her Gothic countrymen who wished to stand fast by the old ways. Still this might have been borne with as a woman's whim; but when they perceived that she was bringing up the King of the Goths, the descendant of all the Amal warriors, to the same studious habits, their dislike deepened into indignation. The great Theodoric had said[2], in his proclamation to the Goths, even when Cassiodorus held the pen, 'What is not learned in

Her manner of educating Athalaric.

[1] 'Atticae facundiae claritate diserta est. Romani eloquii pompa resplendet, nativi sermonis ubertate gloriatur: excellit cunctos in propriis, cum sit aequaliter utique mirabilis' (Cass. Var. xi. 1).

[2] Cass. Var. i. 24.

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youth is unknown in riper years. Bring forth your young men and train them in martial discipline.' A young Amal hero should be learning (like the Persian lads of old) 'to ride and to draw the bow, and to speak the truth.' He should be out daily with the young nobles, his equals in age, practising every kind of manly exercise. Instead of this, the unhappy Athalaric had daily to visit the school of a grammarian, to learn what Priscian had just written about the eight parts of speech, or what Boethius (that traitor Boethius) had translated from the Greeks about the science of arithmetic. His only companions were three old men, of Gothic blood it is true, but whom the princess had selected because 'she perceived them to be more intelligent and reasonable than the rest of their countrymen[1]:' a doubtful recommendation in the eyes of their more impetuous and younger fellow-nobles.

Remonstrances of the Goths.

At length, a chance event brought matters to a crisis, and emancipated Athalaric from female rule. For some act of disobedience Amalasuntha flogged her royal son, who came forth from the bed-chamber into the apartment of the men, sobbing bitterly. A Gothic king, flogged by a woman and crying over the chastisement; that was too much for the warriors to endure. They clustered together, and some voices were heard openly proclaiming the cruel calumny that Amalasuntha wished to kill her boy that she might marry a second husband, and with him lord it over both Goths and Italians. Soon a deputation, composed of men of such high rank that the princess could not refuse to listen to them, sought an inter-

[1] Procopius, de Bell. Gotth. i. 2.

view with Amalasuntha. In a formal harangue the chief speaker represented that the young King's education was not being conducted in a way that was either suitable for himself or just towards his subjects. 'For letters,' said they, 'are very different from valour: and the teachings of aged men generally lead only to cowardice and meanness. A lad, therefore, who is one day to dare great deeds, and to win high renown, ought to be at once liberated from the fear of schoolmasters and to practise the use of arms. Theodoric, who was himself devoid of literature and yet so mighty a king, would never permit the children of the Gothic warriors to be sent to a grammarian's to study: for he always said "If they once learn to fear the tutor's strap, they will never look unblenching on sword and spear." Therefore, O Lady, let the pedagogues and the old courtiers take their leave, and give to your son suitable companions of his own age, who may stir him up to manly exercises, so that when he comes to man's estate he may know how to rule after the fashion of the barbarians.'

Amalasuntha's compliance.

Amalasuntha turned pale with anger as she listened to this bold harangue: but, with all her gifts of oratory, she knew when to be silent and when to feign acquiescence in the dictates of a power that was too strong for her. Such a time was now come. She professed to listen to the counsels of the nobles with pleasure, and promised to comply with their request. Athalaric was relieved from his lessons and from his gray-headed companions, whose place was taken by a band of Gothic striplings. Possibly his mother, irritated at the overthrow of her schemes for his education, ceased to take any further interest in the formation of his character,

and used no care in the selection of these young comrades. It is certain that Athalaric's training went at one rebound from the extreme of strictness to the extreme of laxity. We do not hear of the martial exercises in which he was to be practised, but we do hear that his young companions soon initiated him into habits of intoxication and other forms of vice. His health, perhaps undermined by the too severe application which had been demanded of him as a child, soon began to give way under his unbridled licentiousness, and before he was sixteen years of age it was manifest to all, and even to Amalasuntha herself, that the young King of the Goths would never attain to man's estate.

Further movements of disaffection among the Goths.

Meanwhile the movement of disaffection towards the princess, once begun, had not been stayed by her concessions. The old Gothic party were now in declared hostility to the Regent, and at length audaciously ordered her to quit the royal palace. Athalaric, who was now of an age at which he might have exerted some influence on public affairs, was aware of the painful position in which his mother was placed; but, mindful of her former severity and caring more for his vicious pleasures than for any thought of filial duty, he refused to take her part in any way, and rather seemed to take pleasure in showing how lightly he regarded her counsels. That little golden circlet which, since the world began, has sundered so many hearts bound together by the ties of natural affection, had fatally and finally severed this woman from her son.

Amalasuntha's harsh measures towards

Still the daughter of Theodoric did not quail before her enemies, though they were every day growing more clamorous, and every day her position as ruler in

her son's name was growing weaker by his more evident hostility. She singled out the three nobles who were most eminent in the party opposed to her authority and ordered them to leave the court and betake themselves to separate places of abode as widely parted from one another as the length and breadth of Italy would allow. The historian unfortunately does not give us the names of these dismissed nobles, but we can hardly be wrong in supposing that if Tulum was alive he was one of them. The chief among the Gothic generals, a man who had only just passed the prime of life, and a kinsman by marriage of the family of the Amals, he must, if still living, have played an important part in all the discussions as to the education of the young King; and from what we know of his character we may infer that his influence would not be exerted on Amalasuntha's side [1].

the Gothic leaders.

Negotiations with Justinian.

The dismissed nobles kept up communications with one another and were now, almost in their own despite, converted into conspirators against the princess. Being informed of this she prepared to strike a bolder stroke. She sent messengers to Justinian to inquire if he would be willing to receive her in case of her departure from Italy. The Emperor promised her a warm, an eager welcome, and ordered that a palace at Dyrrhachium should be prepared for her reception. The royal treasure, amounting to the enormous sum of 40,000 pounds' weight of gold, more than £1,600,000 sterling, was placed on board a ship which was sent by the

Removal of the national treasure.

[1] Felix Dahn, in his romance 'Der Kampf um Rom,' makes the names of the three nobles Tulum, Ibbas, and Pitzias; a very probable conjecture as to the first two names. Pitzias was still living when the Gothic war broke out.

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princess, under the charge of some of her trustiest adherents, to anchor in the harbour of Dyrrhachium. That she should have been able, in the precarious condition of her authority as Regent, thus to deal with what was really the national reserve of gold, shows how absolute was the power transmitted by Theodoric to his successors.

The murder of the three nobles.

Having thus provided herself with a refuge in case of the failure of any of her plans, Amalasuntha gave secret orders to some of her Gothic courtiers, daring men and entirely devoted to her interests, to seek out the three disgraced nobles in their various places of retirement and put them to death. There was no pretence of judicial process; it was but a triple murder committed under the shadow of the royal authority.

Temporary success of Amalasuntha.

The plans of the unscrupulous princess succeeded better than they deserved. In each case the assassin's blow was fatal; and Amalasuntha, now deeming herself secure, ordered the treasure-ship back from Dyrrhachium, and no longer thought of fleeing across the Hadriatic. Such was the state of affairs when the ambassadors of Justinian arrived in Italy to discuss the question of Lilybaeum. An irreconcilable breach had been made between Amalasuntha and the patriotic party among the Goths. The son in whose name she exercised the regal authority was visibly sinking into a drunkard's grave. The nobles, perhaps startled by the sudden display of ruthless energy on the part of one whom they had despised both as a woman and as a pedant, were pausing to consider what step should next be taken, and waiting till the death of the nominal king should make the situation clearer, by

compelling Amalasuntha to ask from the nation a formal sanction of her right to reign. BOOK IV. CH. 16.

Ostensibly, the mission of the Senator Alexander, who now arrived at Ravenna on an embassy from Constantinople, was to set forth the various grievances which Justinian had sustained from the Goths. Lilybaeum, which had belonged to Gelimer, now by the fortune of war the slave of the Emperor, was clearly that Emperor's property, but was detained from him by Gothic officers. Ten Hunnish deserters from the army of Africa who had escaped to Campania had been received into the Gothic service by Uliaris[1], the commandant of the garrison of Naples. In some renewed border-wars with the Gepidae, the army of Sirmium had taken and sacked the city Gratiana, which was in the imperial province of Moesia, and with which they had no business to meddle. The letter brought by Alexander rehearsed all these grievances and concluded with a growl of menace: 'Pray consider what is the necessary end of proceedings such as these.' Amalasuntha, or Cassiodorus under her dictation, prepared a suitable reply. She suggested that it was unfair in a great prince like Justinian to try to fasten a quarrel upon a boyish sovereign unversed in public affairs; and dwelt on the services which the Goths had performed to the Empire at the time of the Vandal expedition, by giving the troops a free market in Sicily and supplying the cavalry, who had really been the winners of the imperial victories, with the horses which were essential to their success. As for Lilybaeum, it was a mere rock of no pecuniary value,

534. Embassy of Alexander.

Complaints of Justinian.

Amalasuntha's reply.

[1] Not to be confounded with Uliaris the drunkard and the accidental cause of the death of John the Armenian. See p. 619.

BOOK IV. CH. 16. which had once belonged to the Goths and ought to belong to them again.

534. Real purport of Alexander's mission. This was apparently all that passed on this occasion between the Emperor and the Regent-mother. The real purport of the embassy was very different. In a secret interview Alexander enquired if Amalasuntha still purposed throwing herself on the protection of Justinian, and received in return a formal proposal, made under the seal of absolute secrecy, to surrender the Gothic kingdom in Italy to the Emperor. Seldom has even diplomacy itself veiled a sharper contrast between the real and the apparent, than when this princess, in public proudly refusing to surrender one rocky promontory in Sicily, was in the *secretum* of the palace bargaining away, for a promise of personal safety, the whole of Sicily, Italy, and Illyricum to the stranger.

Amalasuntha's offer.

Ecclesiastical mission. But even below this intrigue lay another which was being carried on under cover of zeal for the welfare of the Church. With Alexander had started two ecclesiastics, Hypatius Bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius Bishop of Philippi, who had been sent ostensibly to discuss some point of church doctrine[1] with Pope John II. Their real mission was to enter into conversation on affairs of state with an important personage who was then in or near Rome, the heir presumptive of the Gothic crown, Theodoric's nephew, Theodahad.

Character of Theodahad. It has been already hinted[2] that this man, the son of Amalafrida and the nearest male heir to Theodoric

[1] Procopius says that he could easily explain what this point of doctrine was, but does not choose to do so: and here he inserts the confession of theistic faith which was quoted in the preceding chapter (see p. 579).

[2] See p. 528.

after Athalaric[1], was not by virtue of his own qualities an eligible candidate for the throne. On the contrary, he, like the bulk of the Merovingian kings, is an illustration of the way in which a degenerate Romanised Goth might unite the vices of the two contrasted nations and the virtues of neither. Greedy and cowardly, with a varnish of philosophic culture over the laziness and dulness of the barbarian, a student of Plato and a practitioner of every kind of low chicanery, fond of Latin literature, but with no trace of the old Roman valour, devoid of gratitude and destitute of honour; such was the man who would now in a very short time be the sole male representative of the great Amal dynasty. By the favour of his uncle he had received, probably from the confiscated estates of the friends of Odovacar, broad lands in the province of Tuscia, and was already by far the largest proprietor in that part of Italy. But to Theodahad, as Procopius satirically observes, 'to have neighbours of any kind seemed a sad misfortune.' The whole fair province of Tuscia, the broad valley of Arno in the north, the villages which lie within sight of cloudy Radicofani in the centre, the Campagna lands in the south beyond the Ciminian mount, extending within sight of the towers of Rome, all must be one vast *latifundium* belonging to the Gothic prince. While he was sitting in the portico of his palace, apparently immersed in the study of Plato or reading the lines in which Horace described himself as

His cupidity.

'Happy enough with his one Sabine farm[2],'

[1] Amalaric, the Spanish grandson of Theodoric, fell in a war with the Franks in the year 531, and was succeeded by Theudis, whose power had long overshadowed his own.

[2] 'Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.'

BOOK IV. CH. 16. 534. he was all the while scheming how, by a judicious mixture of fraud and force, to extrude some Gothic soldier or Roman provincial from the nearest 'Naboth's vineyard' that had not yet been grasped by his all-compassing cupidity. Twice in his uncle's lifetime had he been sharply rebuked for these over-reaching practices. 'Avarice,' as Cassiodorus was commissioned to tell him, 'was a vulgar vice, which the kinsman of Theodoric, a man of the noble Amal blood, was especially bound to avoid.' If Theodahad should not at once yield to the king's mandate, a stout Saio was to be despatched to compel restitution to the rightful owners[1]. Undeterred by the disgrace of having to listen to such reproofs as these, perhaps presuming on the minority of his young cousin and the weakness of a female reign, Theodahad had been of late years pursuing even more eagerly his course of chicanery and violence; and at the time which we have now reached a large deputation of the inhabitants of Tuscia was at the court of Ravenna declaring 'that Theodahad was oppressing all the inhabitants of that country, taking away their lands on no pretence, and was not only thus offending against private individuals, but was even trenching largely on the royal *patrimonium*[2].'

Theodahad is desirous to treat with Justinian. The knowledge of his own unpopularity, and the estrangement which these acts had produced between himself and his royal relatives, gave to Theodahad a feeling of insecurity which was no doubt increased by the wonderful and unexpected victories of the Empire in Africa. The downfall of the Vandal throne probably gave to all persons connected with the new

[1] See Cass. Var. iv. 39 and v. 12.

[2] Procop. de Bell. Gotth. i. 4.

barbaric royalties a sense of the precariousness of their splendid positions; a presentiment that their power was but for a little time, and that soon the Roman Emperor would be again, what he had been for so many centuries, the unquestioned lord of civilised Europe. Whatever may have been the cause, when the ecclesiastical deputies from Constantinople, Hypatius and Demetrius, obtained their secret interview with Theodahad they found him willing, even eager, to enter into negotiations with their master. Let a large sum of money be paid down, and let the rank of Senator be conferred upon him, and he would hand over the whole of Tuscia to the Emperor, and spend the remainder of his days as a courtier at Constantinople.

534.

Embassy of Peter.

When the ambassadors returned to make report of their mission, it might reasonably seem to Justinian that the whole kingdom of Italy was about to fall into his hands without toil or bloodshed, only by a little judicious expenditure of treasure. All that was needed appeared to be to continue the negotiations which had been commenced with Amalasuntha and Theodahad, to keep the two intrigues from being entangled with one another, and at the right moment to make bold and liberal drafts on the Count of the Sacred Largesses at Constantinople. For this purpose a rhetorician of Byzantium, named Peter, a Thessalonian by birth, and one of the ablest diplomatists in the imperial service, was chosen. Peter, who had been Consul eighteen years before, was at this time in full middle life[1], a man of good diplomatic address,

[1] He can hardly have been more than forty-five or fifty years of age, as we find him twenty-eight years later, in

BOOK IV. CH. 16. 534. subtle, gentle, and persuasive. He knew, however, as was shown by his conduct of these negotiations, when to make felt the iron hand which at this time was always present within the velvet glove of Byzantine diplomacy.

Change in position of the parties before Peter's arrival. The appointment of Peter as ambassador, nominally to renew the demand for Lilybaeum, really to carry these secret negotiations to a successful issue, probably took place in the autumn of 534. When he arrived upon the scene some months later, he found that events had marched with terrible rapidity, and a totally different state of affairs awaited him from that which had been contemplated by the Emperor in his instructions.

Edict of restitution against Theodahad. In the first place, the enquiry into the acts of Theodahad demanded by his Tuscan neighbours had taken place. The prince had been found clearly guilty of the charges brought against him, and had been condemned to make restitution of all the lands that he had wrongfully appropriated either from private individuals or from the royal domain. Theodahad, smarting under the shame of this sentence and powerless henceforward to remove his neighbour's landmark, had become the bitter enemy of the Regent.

Death of Athalaric, 2 Oct. 534[1]. Almost immediately after the termination of this affair came the event, so long looked for, yet so bewildering when it came, the death of the hapless young king Athalaric, in the eighteenth year of his

562, sent to Mesopotamia to negotiate a treaty with Persia (Menander, 3).

[1] We get this date only from the 'Annals of Ravenna,' as preserved in Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis, p. 322 (ed. Holder-Egger).

age, worn out with drunkenness and debauchery. All the schemes of Amalasuntha were thus threatened with immediate overthrow. The success which had hitherto attended them was probably due to the fact that, so long as she could use the king's name, the whole army of functionaries who worked the machinery of the State, inherited from the Western Emperors, were at her service and ready to obey her bidding. But now, to get that name of royalty without which no Roman official was safe in obeying her orders, she must face her Gothic subjects, and at least go through the form of being freely chosen by them. So much, notwithstanding all the centralising and despotic tendencies of Theodoric's system, the instinct of a German nationality still required. Without this election, even her scheme of resigning the sceptre to Justinian could not be realised: and yet to obtain it she must face an assembly of those free Gothic warriors whom for the last eight years she had been persistently thwarting and humiliating; nay, she must see the clouded countenances of the relatives of those three nobles whom she had murdered, and whose death, according to old Teutonic notions, still called for vengeance at the hands of their kinsmen.

534. Increased difficulties in Amalasuntha's position.

It must have been the pressure of necessities such as these that drove the princess to an act so extraordinary that Procopius could only account for it by the explanation, which is no explanation, that Amalasuntha was 'fated to perish.' She determined to share the throne with Theodahad, trusting to his sense of gratitude for this elevation to leave her still virtually sole sovereign. Sending for him, she assured him with a winning smile that she had long looked

She decides to offer a partnership in the kingdom to Theodahad.

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upon her son's early death as inevitable, and had felt that all the hopes of the house of Theodoric must be centred in *him*. Seeing, however, with regret that he was not popular either with the Goths or Italians, she had devoted herself to the task of putting him straight with his future subjects, in order that there might be no obstacle to his accession to the throne. This had been the object of the late judicial investigation; and, painful as the process might have been to himself, this result was now accomplished. She therefore now invited him to ascend the throne with her; but he must first bind himself by an awful oath that he would be satisfied with the name of kingship, and would leave her as much of the actual substance of power as she possessed at that moment.

Theodahad accepts the proposal.

Theodahad listened, professed entire acquiescence in all that the Regent had done in the past, and promised that the sole direction of affairs should remain in her hands for the future. The scheme was then made public: some sort of assent was probably obtained from the *Comitatus* or from an armed assembly of the Goths; and Amalasuntha and Theodahad were hailed as joint sovereigns of the Goths and Romans in Italy.

Nature of the new arrangement.

As to the main outlines of this transaction there can be no difference of view. Amalasuntha associated Theodahad with herself in the kingdom as a brother, not as a husband. The new King was already married, and the letters written for his wife Gudelina by Cassiodorus to the sovereigns of Byzantium give us the idea that she was a woman of eager and ambitious temperament, who possibly urged on her husband to labours and to crimes from which his more sluggish

534.

nature would have shrunk. A point as to which there may reasonably be some divergence of opinion is, how far the popular assent was needed, even in form, for the new bestowal of the crown. It may be observed that I have abstained from speaking of Amalasuntha as Queen before the death of her son; and my conjecture is that there was some formality of popular election after the death of Athalaric, in compliance with which his mother and her colleague ascended the throne. There is something to be said, however, for a more strictly monarchical view of the transaction, according to which Amalasuntha may have become Queen in her own right as heiress to her son, and then, by a mere exercise of her sovereign power, may have associated Theodahad with her in the kingdom[1].

Letters announcing the accession of Amalasuntha and Theodahad.

The facile pen of Cassiodorus was at once called into requisition to write the epistles which etiquette required from the new sovereigns. In two letters to Justinian, Amalasuntha and Theodahad announced the beginning of their joint reign, and recommended themselves to the favour of a sovereign the maxim of whose Empire had always been friendship with the Amals. In two letters to the Senate, the sister praised the noble birth, the patience and moderation, the prudence and the literary talent of her brother (not even the pen of Cassiodorus could write the words 'the courage of Theodahad'): and the brother exalted the serene wisdom of his sister, who, after causing him to make acquaintance with her justice[2], had weighed him in the

[1] This is Dahn's view.

[2] 'Cujus prius ideo justitiam pertuli, ut prius ad ejus provectionis gradum pervenirem.' The expression is peculiar, but

BOOK IV. CH. 16. 534. scale of her accurate judgment and found him worthy to share her throne. As the Divine Wisdom has allotted to man two hands, two ears, two eyes, so was the Gothic kingdom to be thenceforward administered by two sovereigns, who, partaking of all one another's counsels, would rule the land in perfect harmony.

Theodahad's ingratitude. Words, vain words, with no trace of reality behind them! We seem to perceive the influence of Cassiodorus on the mind of his pupil, in Amalasuntha's overestimate of the power of mere words, not only to veil unpleasant facts, but to smooth them away out of existence, and by the magic of a well-turned period to breathe noble instincts into a base and greedy soul. The Queen soon found that in trusting to the generosity or the gratitude of Theodahad she was leaning on a broken reed. In fairness to her partner it must be confessed that she had brought the affairs of her kingdom into such a state of almost hopeless bewilderment, that only a very brave, zealous, and loyal colleague could have extricated her from her difficulties: and Theodahad was none of these. The kinsmen of the three murdered nobles, already a powerful party, and including some of the noblest of the Goths, now found themselves reinforced by one who bore the title of King. They, or he—it is not easy to assign the exact share of responsibility for these deeds—broke out into open violence and slew some of the chief adherents of the Queen. Amalasuntha herself was hurried away from Ravenna to one of the two lonely islands which rise out of the waters of the lake of

Imprisonment of Amalasuntha,

agrees remarkably with the account given by Procopius of Amalasuntha's apology for her conduct in promoting the edict of restitution.

Bolsena. This lake, named from the ancient Etrurian city of Vulsinii, is now the picture of desolation. Malaria rules upon its shores, and scarcely a sign of human habitation appears upon them outside of the villages of Bolsena at its head, Montefiascone and Marta at its foot. The handiwork of Nature is beautiful, the blue lake lying under its forest of oak, and the hills to the north of it stretching up to dark, volcanic, Monte Amiata on the horizon: but man has done nothing to improve it. A strange awe seizes one as one looks down upon the white rocks of the little islet of Marta, now entirely uninhabited, but with a few steps cut in the rock which are said to have led to the prison of Amalasuntha. One seems to see the boat rowed by Theodahad's servants bearing the hapless Queen who had so lately ruled from Sicily to the Danube: one feels how her weary eyes rested on the hills around, the Tuscan hills, all owned by the hateful traitor Theodahad: and one knows that her clear and manly intelligence must have at once perceived that she was brought to this desolate rock only to die.

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535. 30 April, 535[1].

The lake of Bolsena.

For the moment Theodahad spared the life of his victim. It perhaps suited him to have a hostage for his own safety in the negotiations which he was about to recommence with Byzantium. He despatched an embassy, at the head of which were two Senators, Liberius and Opilio (the latter of whom had been Consul eleven years before with the Emperor Justin), to report the imprisonment of Amalasuntha, to deprecate the Emperor's anger, and to promise that she should receive no injury. An accusation against her

Theodahad's embassy to Constantinople.

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[1] We get this date, like that of the death of Athalaric, only from Agnellus.

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that she had plotted against her partner's life was made the excuse for the violence used towards her, and was apparently supported by a letter of confession and self-reproach extorted from the helpless Queen.

Their report to Justinian.

When the ambassadors arrived at Constantinople, all, with one exception, described the recent deeds of Theodahad in such terms as they deserved, Liberius especially, who was a man of high and honourable character, vindicating the conduct of Amalasuntha from all blame. Opilio alone (who was probably father of Cyprian the accuser of Boethius) insisted that reasons of state had justified all that had been done by Theodahad.

Journey of Peter.

Meanwhile the ambassador Peter, travelling in the opposite direction, had been gradually learning the events which changed the whole object of his journey. Soon after starting, he met the ambassadors who told of Athalaric's death and the elevation of Theodahad. When he came in sight of the Hadriatic he met Liberius and Opilio, from whom he heard of the Queen's imprisonment. He prudently went no further westward, but communicated the tidings to the Emperor and waited for fresh orders. When those orders arrived they were, to hand to the Queen a letter in which Justinian assured her that he would exert himself to the utmost for her safety. Peter was directed to make no secret of this letter, but to exhibit it to Theodahad and all the Gothic nobles, among whom the Emperor calculated that it would sow dissensions which might further his schemes of conquest.

Before Peter arrived at Ravenna the tragedy of Amalasuntha's fate was ended. The party of the

three nobles found it an easy task to work upon Theodahad's fears and to persuade him that there was no safety for him or for them so long as the Queen lived. He consented to their murderous counsels; they repaired to Vulsinii, crossed the lake, climbed the white cliffs, and murdered the unhappy daughter of Theodoric in her bath. Theodahad loudly protested that the deed was done without his knowledge or approval, but as he loaded the murderers with honours and rewards, none heeded his denial.

535. Death of Amalasuntha, May (?), 535.

Peter at once sought an audience with Theodahad and informed him that, after the deed of wickedness which had been done, there must be war without truce or treaty between him and the Emperor[1]. Contrary, however, to the custom usual both in ancient and modern times, he seems after this declaration to have remained still at the Gothic Court, evidently intending to see what diplomatic advantage he might yet obtain from the fears of the guilty King[2].

Peter declares a truceless war against Theodahad.

[1] Πέτρος μὲν οὖν Θεοδάτῳ τε ἄντικρυς ἐμαρτύρατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Γότθοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεινοῦ τούτου ἐξειργασμένου ἄσπονδος βασιλεῖ τε καὶ σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται (Procop. de Bell. Gotth. i. 4).

[2] Procopius in his Anecdota makes Peter himself privy to Amalasuntha's death. According to the account of the matter there given by him, when Amalasuntha conceived the idea of abdicating the throne and retiring to Constantinople, Theodora, fearing the effect on her husband's affections of the presence of so beautiful and accomplished a woman, of royal blood, determined to prevent the visit, and gave secret instructions to Peter to that effect, when he set forth on his embassy. Accordingly on his arrival in Italy, Peter 'using I know not what arguments, persuaded Theodahad to make away with Amalasuntha.' For this service Peter was rewarded with the dignity of Master of the Offices, but he earned by it the hatred of all good men. There is here a direct contradiction, which is indeed acknowledged by the author, between the two versions of the same transaction given

Charge in the Anecdota against Theodora of being the cause of Amalasuntha's death.

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Cause of Amalasuntha's misfortunes.

So perished Amalasuntha, Queen of the Goths and Romans, a woman worthy not only of a less tragic death, but of a more successful life, had she only possessed, in addition to her rare intellectual gifts, the humbler qualities of tact, insight into the minds of others, and some power of sympathising even with the unreasonable prejudices of those around her. She led a pure life, had a high and queenly spirit, and was earnest in the pursuit of wisdom, seeming as it were a kind of Gothic Minerva, sprung from the Gothic Jove. But half of her splendid qualities might have been wisely exchanged for the gift of reading the thoughts of the rough barbarians who guarded her throne, and above all, for sufficient remembrance of what is in the heart of a child, and sufficient imagination of what is in the heart of a boy, to keep her from the alternate errors of over-strictness and over-laxity by which she ruined the health and character of her son Athalaric.

by him: but he says that fear of Theodora prevented him from giving the true account of the matter before. Different enquirers will probably come to different conclusions when the evidence is thus conflicting. To me the story given in the History seems simple, straightforward, and coherent, and I am disposed to reject the account in the Anecdota as a malicious after-thought of the revengeful old age of Procopius.



1

ODOVACAR.



3

ATHALARIC



2

THEODORIC.





5

WITIGES.



THEODAHAD.

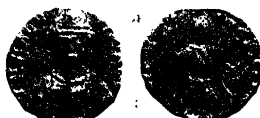




6

WITIGES.



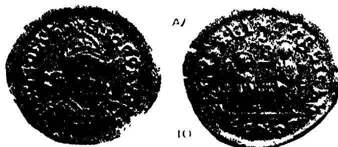


BADUILA (TOTILA)



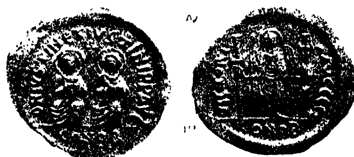
9

TEIAS.



10

LEO II & ZENO



JUSTIN I & JUSTINIAN.





11

ANASTASIVS

COINS OF OSTROGOTHIC KINGS OF ITALY,

AND CONTEMPORARY EMPERORS OF THE EAST

NOTE I. THE OSTROGOTHIC COINAGE.

THE coins of the Ostrogothic Kings figured on the opposite plate, though for the most part contemptible as works of art, furnish an interesting commentary on the peculiar relations existing between Ravenna and Byzantium. NOTE I.

Before describing them, however, let us notice the little silver coin (No. 1), which may be probably ascribed to Odovacar. Its technical description is—

Silver. 'A Half-Siliqua' (twenty-four Siliquae went to the Solidus Aureus, and therefore the Half-Siliqua would be worth about three-pence).

'*Obverse.* FL. OD[OV]AC. Profile of Odovacar (?) with moustache.

'*Reverse.* Monogram of ODOVA surrounded with a wreath.'

The very few coins of this type that are preserved are in poor condition, and the lettering must be considered doubtful; but on the whole it is probable that we have here a genuine coin of Odovacar, and if so, it is important to observe that it bears his own effigy, and that there is no allusion direct or indirect to the Emperor at Constantinople.

We now pass to the Ostrogothic coins. Those here figured of Theodoric and his grandson are thus described:—

No. 2. Silver. 'Half-Siliqua of Theodoric.'

'*Obv.* D N (Dominus Noster) ANASTASIVS PP AVG (in reversed letters). Extremely youthful profile of Anastasius with diadem and paludamentum (military cloak).

'*Rev.* INVICTA ROMA. Monogram of THEODORICVS. Cross and star.'

It will be seen that here we have no effigy of Theodoric, only his monogram. Not one of the Ostrogothic Kings appears ever to have put his own effigy on any gold or silver coin. As we have no copper coins of Theodoric we are unable to say whether he put his effigy on these. The utter absence of portraiture in the effigy of Anastasius will be at once remarked. The at least

 septuagenarian Emperor is a young lad of eighteen, of an almost girlish type of beauty.

No. 3. Copper. 'Piece of Ten Nummi of Athalaric.' (As the Solidus Aureus contained 6,000 Nummi, and the Siliqua 250, this piece was theoretically equivalent to one twenty-fifth of a Siliqua, or about a farthing of English money.)

'*Obv.* INVICTA ROMA. Helmeted bust of Rome.

'*Rev.* D N ATHALARICVS. Warrior standing with spear and shield: in the field S C (Senatus Consulto) and X (Decem Nummi).'

The silver coins of Athalaric bear the effigy of Justin or Justinian; the copper bear sometimes these Imperial effigies, sometimes, as above, a bust of 'Invicta Roma' or of 'Felix Ravenna' a female bust with a mural crown. There is no instance of the effigy of Athalaric being found on a coin.

Of Amalasuntha alone no coins have been found. This fact confirms the view taken in the preceding chapter, that Amalasuntha was not regarded as queen till after the death of her son and the association of Theodahad.

No. 4. Copper. 'Piece of Forty Nummi of Theodahad.'

'*Obv.* D N THEODAHATVS REX.' Bust of Theodahad with closed crown, jewelled robe, and cross on breast.

'*Rev.* VICTORIA PRINCIPVM. Victory marching, on prow, with wreath and palm-branch. S C in field.'

As to this coin I cannot do better than quote the striking words of Mr. Keary (Numismatic Chronicle, N. S. xviii. 157):—

'This is in every way a remarkable piece. It is the first coin ever issued having the portrait of a King of the Teutonic race. The busts which appear upon the contemporary coins of the Vandals, or upon the other coins of this dynasty, are in no sense portraits or attempts at portraits. Though they are surrounded by the name of the King, they are merely conventional busts copied directly from the imperial coins; and the same remark applies to the coins of Theudebert the Frank, which begin to appear about this time. But in the case of the coins before us there can be no doubt that a portrait was intended, and that the features of Theodahad, down to the slight moustache upon the upper lip, are given with as much skill as the artist possessed. The dress, too, is worth noticing. Its magnificence is barbaric, and to our eyes almost Oriental; and we

here see the closed crown which has been throughout mediaeval and modern Europe the symbol of empire. The Roman imperial office was expressed by the *diademed* head; the Germanic invaders of Roman territory adopted the crown as the symbol of nobility and of kingship. We may guess from these coins that the Ostrogoths, while they took the D N, which was the title applied to the Roman Emperors, did not finally adopt either the imperial title or the imperial diadem. They adhere to the "rex" and the crown, which has, perhaps, more sacred associations for *them*.' NOTE I.

I may add that we have in this piece an illustration of the paradox which so often meets us in the Imperial coinage, that the worse the sovereign the better is the artistic character of his coins. Also that we may perhaps read *Victoria Principum* (in the plural) as alluding to the association of Theodahad and Amalasuntha.

No. 5. Silver. 'Siliqua of Witigis.'

'*Obv.* D N IVSTINIANVS PP AVG. Youthful bust of Justinian in armour and paludamentum.

'*Rev.* Within wreath D N VVITIGES REX.'

No. 6. Copper. 'Piece of Ten Nummi of Witigis.'

'*Obv.* INVICTA ROMA. Helmeted bust of Rome.

'*Rev.* Same as No. 5.'

The conventionality of the numismatic artist has not often been more strongly exemplified than in these coins. The Gothic King, who was during his whole reign at bitter war with Justinian, puts the effigy of that Emperor on his silver pieces: and the warrior, the chief event of whose reign was his long and unsuccessful siege of Rome, stamps the image of 'Roma,' which he too truly found 'Invicta,' on the copper pieces in which he paid the discomfited besiegers.

There are no effigies of Witigis on coins of any description.

The monogram of his wife 'Matasunda' is found on the reverse of a silver siliqua, bearing on the obverse the effigy of Justinian.

No coins of Ildibad or Eraric have been found.

We now come to the reign of Totila (Baduila), whose coins at once tell the tale of the increased bitterness of the feud between the Goths and Justinian.

NOTE I.

No. 7. Silver. 'Siliqua of Totila.'

'*Obv.* D N ANASTASIVS PP AVG. Youthful effigy of Anastasius (closely resembling that of Justinian in No. 5).

'*Rev.* In wreath D N BADVILA REX.'

No. 8. Copper. 'Piece of Five Nummi of Totila.'

'*Obv.* D N BADVILA REX. Totila, full face, with closed crown and jewelled robe.

'*Rev.* (FLOREA)S SEMPER. Warrior standing with spear: X in the field.' (Mr. Keary thinks this X a mistake for V, as from the size it can hardly be a piece of Ten Nummi.)

We see that, on account of the hostility between Totila and Justinian, the effigy of the latter is omitted from the silver coins of the former, upon which that of Anastasius, who has been dead for near thirty years, again appears. On one silver coin, instead of Anastasius the effigy of Totila is figured. Also on the copper coinage, instead of any pretence of celebrating 'Invicta Roma,' Totila puts his own image with a crown not unlike that of Theodahad. One of his copper coins has the likeness of a female with a mural crown, and the legend FELIX TICINVS, probably with reference to Totila's coronation at Ticinum.

No. 9. Silver. 'Siliqua of Teias.'

'*Obv.* D N ANASTASIVS PP AVG. Feminine effigy of Emperor.

'*Rev.* D N THILA REX in wreath.'

All the coins of Teias bear the effigy of Anastasius. Friedländer conjectures that they were struck at Ticinum, both Rome and Ravenna being in the hands of the enemy. The King's name is spelt sometimes Theia, sometimes (as here) Thila.

It will be observed that there are no gold coins in our list, none having been struck by any Ostrogothic King. For the reasons of this abstinence on their part see vol. iv. pp. 611–612, and the curious passage there quoted from Procopius.

BYZANTINE COINS.

A few coins of contemporary Emperors are added.

No. 10. Gold. 'Solidus Aureus of Leo II and his father Zeno.'

'*Obv.* D N LEO ET ZENO PP AVG (no plural modifications, though

for two Emperors). Conventional head of Emperor in armour and helmet, holding spear and shield. NOTE I.

'*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE: ZENO in exergue. Front figures, man and boy seated on a throne, both with nimbus: cross between them.'

No. 11. Copper. 'Follis or Piece of Forty Nummi of Anastasius.'

'*Obv.* D N ANASTASIVS PP AVG. Bust of Anastasius with diadem and paludamentum.

'*Rev.* M (Greek numeral forty). Below Є, to denote the fifth year of the Emperor's reign. A star on each side, a cross above. CON in exergue.'

No. 12. Gold. 'Solidus Aureus of Justin I and Justinian.'

'*Obv.* D N IVSTIN ET IVSTINI PP AVG (no plural modifications). CONOB in exergue. Front figures of two Emperors, each with nimbus: cross between them.

'*Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG. (sic). Θ (ninth year of Justinian's reign). CONOB in exergue. Angel standing, holding cross and orb.'

The best information on the subject of the Ostrogothic coinage is to be found in 'Die Münzen der Ostgothen,' by Julius Friedländer (Berlin, 1844), and in the valuable articles on 'The Coinage of Western Europe, from the Fall of the Western Empire till the Accession of Charlemagne,' contributed to the Numismatic Chronicle (1878), by Mr. C. F. Keary of the British Museum.

END OF VOL. III.



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